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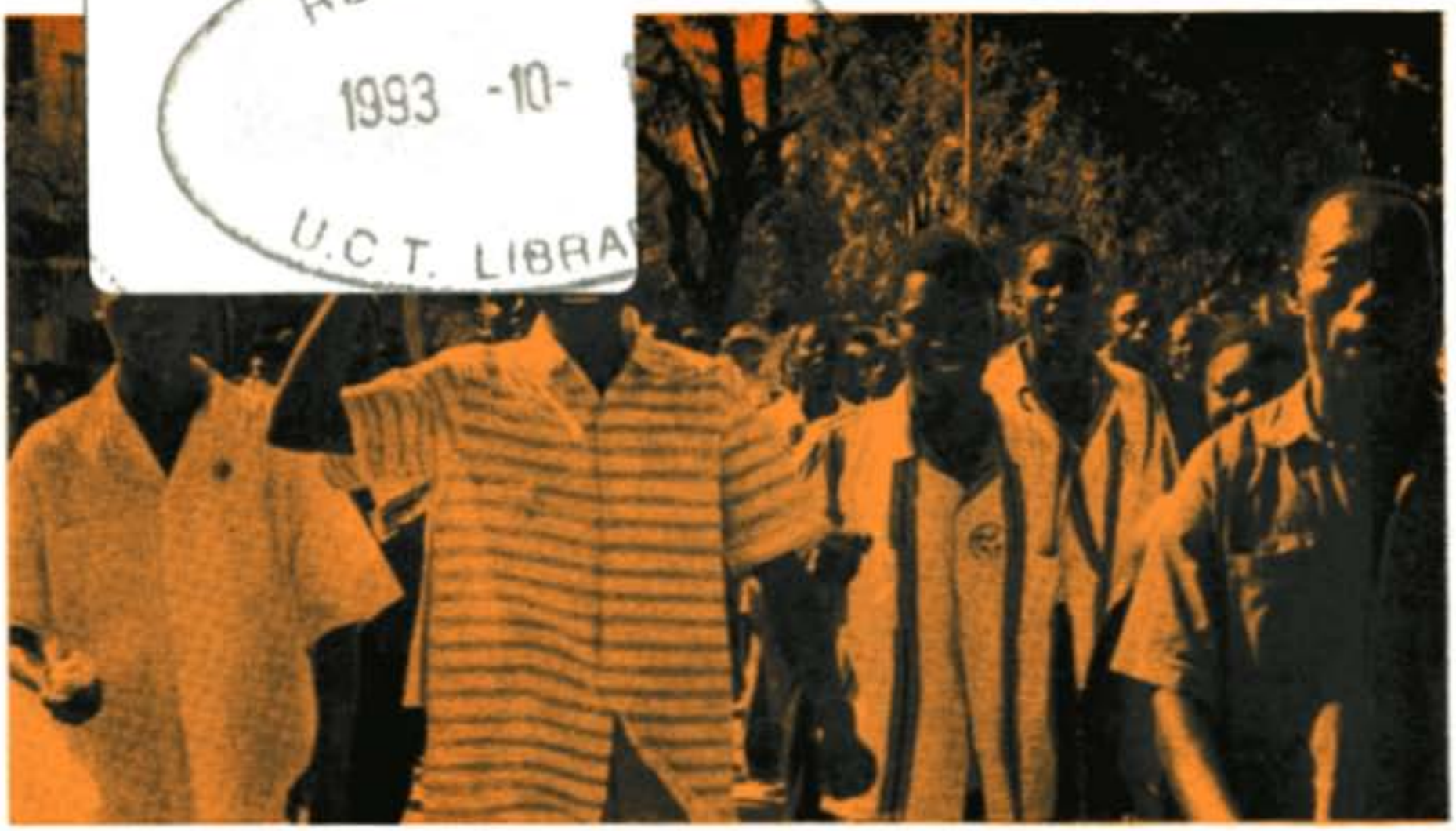

TANZANIA'S NEW REVOLUTION

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

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THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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Contents

5 S.A.C.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENTS

THE PRESENT SITUATION: In the world; in Africa; in Southern Africa

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

EVENTS IN CHINA

A recent meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party conducted a wide-ranging series of discussions. These statements sum up many of the major analyses and conclusions that were reached.

19 TANZANIA'S NEW REVOLUTION

TOUSSAINT

The historic Arusha Declaration marked a decisive step in the advance of Tanzania in a socialist direction and the struggle of the ruling party, T.A.N.U., led by President Nyerere, to transform itself into a vanguard Party of workers and peasants. The main features of the Arusha Declaration are here explained and discussed.

32 THE SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL SURVIVE!

TIGANI T. BABIKER

The legal existence of the Communist Party is at stake in the present constitutional crisis in Sudan. The right-wing Government declared the Party illegal. The Courts have ruled that this was itself an unlawful and unconstitutional act by the Government. The Government refuses to accept the Court decision. The writer—himself a leading member of the Sudanese Communist Party—goes beyond the legal issue to an eloquent defence of the policy of the Party and a confident assertion that —come what may—it will carry on.

40 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

I. THE BACKGROUND

TERENCE AFRICANUS

1967 marks the fiftieth year of the Great October Socialist Revolution that founded the Soviet Union. This, the first of a series of three articles, discusses the background—the character of Tsarist Russia; the democratic opposition movements and the development of Lenin's Bolshevik Party; the first world war.

Contents (*continued*)

50 TRADE UNION APARTHEID

R. E. BRAVERMAN

The writer discusses the various divisions that have developed in the South African trade union movement, and in particular the steady degeneration of the Trade Union Council. From the initial acceptance of racialism in the labour movement it has sunk step by step to a role of defending apartheid at home and abroad.

60 AFRICA: NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

SOL DUBULA

Banda—Traitor to Africa; Lesotho After the Coup; Nigeria: The Crisis Deepens; Sierra Leone: The Rifle Rules; Somali's Rigged Referendum; Zambia; Botswana; Guerillas in the South.

69 DOCUMENTS ON ARUSHA: SOCIALISM IS NOT RACIALISM

JULIUS K. NYERERE

A.N.C. BACKS T.A.N.U.

OLIVER R. TAMBO

74 BOOK REVIEWS

The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs; African Writing Today.

76 WHAT OUR READERS WRITE

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Statements and Resolutions

THE PRESENT SITUATION

THE AGGRESSIVE PLANS of imperialism have taken shape more clearly. A planned, world-wide offensive is in progress against independent governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It uses a great variety of means—military intervention, economic pressure and penetration, encouragement of subversion and reactionary coups.

America's colonial intervention in South Vietnam has been escalated to the dimensions of a major war, employing a million troops—half of them U.S. regular forces, the rest local levies and satellite troops. It is backed up by every modern device for indiscriminate mass slaughter, in a vain effort to enslave the people and break their spirit of independence. The Americans have launched an undeclared war of aggression in the North, bombing and shelling towns and population centres from the air, land and sea. The invincible, fighting resistance of Vietnam inspires all oppressed and freedom-loving people.

The South African Communist Party joins the world-wide protest at the barbarous crimes of the United States aggressors in Vietnam. We demand the Americans and all foreign troops quit Vietnam, and allow the Vietnamese to determine their own future in terms of the Geneva Agreements and the four- and five-point declarations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front in the South respectively.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam has aggravated international tension, increased the danger of general war, and encouraged the forces of fascism, racism and reaction everywhere. It has undermined the authority and usefulness of the United Nations to the detriment of all people, including the oppressed of Southern Africa; for while the greatest imperialist power, a member of the Security Council, openly flouts the United Nations Charter, no one believes that the United Nations will take realistic measures to implement its resolutions against apartheid in South Africa, or the Smith regime in Salisbury, or South Africa's annexation of South-West Africa.

The imperialist counter-offensive has had serious repercussions in Africa. A number of colonialist-backed military take-overs have occurred, most ominous of which was the coup by army officers in Ghana, which overthrew the progressive Convention People's Party government. In a number of African countries, neo-colonialist intrigues and bribery of various kinds have resulted in the emergence, in leading positions, of corrupt elements seeking their own advancement and prepared to sell their countries' independence and the cause of Africa's unity and liberation.

It is not by chance that this period of the world-wide counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism coincides with a relative weakening of the unity of the forces for peace and progress, especially of the unity of the socialist countries. The disruptive, anti-Soviet policy and tactics of the Mao group controlling the Communist Party of China has caused grave damage both to China and to the world anti-imperialist front.

The S.A.C.P. strongly favours a new meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world at the earliest possible time to rally and unite the anti-imperialist forces and to face urgent problems posed by the present international situation.

A BLEAK FUTURE FOR IMPERIALISM

While a realistic assessment requires that such temporary setbacks and weaknesses be taken into account, by themselves they do not by any means provide a correct or balanced picture of the world or of the African situation as a whole. Despite reverses in some areas, the forces of revolution, the economic, military and moral strength of the socialist countries, the working class and national liberation movements, continue to grow. Though treachery and terror enable the imperialists to claim 'victories' in this or that area of the world, they are fundamentally incapable of solving the problems of the masses, or of satisfying their aspirations.

The overall world perspective presents a bleak future for the imperialists. Their arrogant and savage acts of aggression are meeting with anger and resistance everywhere, including sections of the people of the imperialist countries themselves. Put down in one area by ruthless intervention and bloody massacres—as in Indonesia or Ghana—the tide of struggle for freedom and independence arises again in another. The main capitalist countries encounter severe economic difficulties, characterised by increasing monopolisation and rising unemployment, despite the massive military expenditure which has become a permanent feature. Inter-imperialist rivalries and conflicts reassert themselves in new forms.

Imperialism and its supporters display complete ideological and moral bankruptcy. Among the working people and the youth everywhere there is disillusionment with the corrupt bourgeois parties and their unprincipled right-wing 'labour' hangers-on, and a search for radical solutions. Attention is being directed more forcefully than ever to that great contrast and problem of our times—on the one hand, striking advances of technology opening up prospects of unprecedented abundance; on the other, the shocking backwardness of the areas whose economic development has been stifled by imperialism, where vast populations live in grinding poverty, perpetually on the verge of starvation.

In the colonies and former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, high levels of revolutionary activity and consciousness are being attained by the people and their liberation movements. The Tri-Continental Conference at Havana gave organisational expression to the unity of the national liberation movements of the 'Third World' as a major component of the world struggle against imperialism, poverty and war, together with the socialist countries and the international working class movement.

Despite the blows struck by imperialism and reaction and racialism in Ghana, Rhodesia and elsewhere, the African Revolution generally, in its overall development, continues to gain in momentum, depth and clarity of purpose.

The armed freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea have reconquered some important areas from the invaders and are advancing towards the full liberation of their countries. The revolutionary governments of the United Arab Republic, Tanzania and other African countries have scored striking successes on the road to socialism. African leaders and freedom-fighters have learnt valuable lessons from the experience of Ghana, where negative features—the failure to build an ideologically united and disciplined party; the failure to effect revolutionary changes in the countryside, or to conduct a consistent class struggle against bourgeois and feudal elements; undue reliance on imperialist 'aid'—coupled with the unenlightened cult of an individual leader—resulted in the inability of the C.P.P., the working class and other progressive forces to resist the counter-revolutionary army coup.

These lessons were brought out clearly at the October Seminar in Cairo, where many progressive African leaders, liberation movements and national-revolutionary parties, meeting for the first time together with a number of African Marxist-Leninist Parties, conducted a valuable and original review of many of the outstanding problems of

our continent and the African Revolution. The Seminar marked a most significant development towards unity of the most advanced and revolutionary forces of Africa.

SOUTHERN AFRICA—AN AREA OF INSTABILITY

The independent African states and the progressive forces of our continent have recognised that the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, and above all of the apartheid-dominated South, is a critical task before the whole continent. This is the key to the development and consummation of the African Revolution.

Whatever its surface appearance, this entire region is an area of instability and revolutionary potentialities.

In South Africa the Nationalist government has consolidated its position. It has gained increased electoral support among the white population, and the United Party, having surrendered on all important policy questions, is at its lowest ebb. Though there is still some courageous expression of anti-fascist opposition among the white minority—notably in the universities and the English press—it is neither of major significance nor effective in curbing the reactionary career of the government.

Economically and militarily, largely as a result of massive foreign investment and military aid in defiance of the Security Council's recommendation, the apartheid state has gained in strength. It has virtually destroyed the publicly-functioning organisations of the Congress Alliance. With thousands of members jailed and all known officials subjected to bans, house arrest and surveillance, the formal 'legality' of the S.A. Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Trade Unions has been reduced to a farce.

The years of suppression of the democratic press and meetings, of the national liberation movements and the Communist Party, together with constant indoctrination through the mass media and the schools, are having an effect. There are signs of the growth of communalism, tribal chauvinism and of collaboration with the oppressors, especially among certain corruptible and backward elements of the non-white middle class.

All these factors lend support to the Vorster government's propaganda picture of itself as a powerful, unassailable fortress of white supremacy—propaganda intended to still doubts among wavering supporters and to discourage the revolutionary and radical opposition.

But a deeper analysis reveals fatal sources of weakness and instability in the position of the racist dictatorship. The fundamental

contradiction between the exploiting minority and the oppressed masses has in no way been resolved; rather it has been intensified. The national and economic oppression of the African and other non-white groups remains as harsh as ever.

Though the expression of antagonism to apartheid is suppressed by force, conditions in the country preclude the people from submission or reconciliation to the regime. There is no reason to doubt that the masses are still strongly against the government, against white domination, in favour of democratic revolution.

Important contradictions and conflicts have also developed within the ruling class and the government. Faced with serious labour problems caused by rigid application of the industrial colour bar, a section of the bourgeoisie is pressing for certain categories of semi-skilled work to be opened up to non-whites. Aspiring to a neo-colonialist role in Africa, certain financial circles, including such pillars of the Nationalist Party as the Rupert-Rembrandt group, oppose blatant declarations of crude 'baasskap' policy and advocate the opening of the Reserves to penetration by 'white' capital. Against these tendencies an ultra-right grouping has emerged within the Nationalist Party, the Hertzog-Beyers faction, which has strong support among the white miners and other sections of the white supervisory working class and widespread support among the urban and rural white petty bourgeoisie. It demands even more rigid 'baasskap' policies.

These conflicts are brought more and more into the open with the development of the inner crisis in the country and the unsettled and unpredictable conditions in South Africa's border regions which are causing grave anxiety to the ruling circles.

Not far away, guerilla fighters in Angola and Mozambique engage 100,000 Portuguese soldiers, while the national liberation movements sustain their activities and hold considerable areas of territory.

Immediately to the north, there is the still unresolved crisis precipitated by the illegal declaration of independence by the Smith regime. Though its policy is dominated by fear of a victory for the Zimbabwe liberation movement, the British Government has been forced to impose sanctions against the Smith regime and to seek United Nations support for limited international sanctions. Clearly the matter will not be allowed to rest at the present stalemate, either by the African states or by the masses in Zimbabwe. Political pressure for more effective British action continues. Popular armed resistance, though still on a limited scale, has begun. This continuing crisis, with its unpredictable long-term consequences, is seriously disturbing to

South Africa's ruling circles, as evidenced by the significant advice of *Die Burger* that Smith should come to terms with the British.

The Vorster government reacted defiantly to the United Nations decision declaring the South-West African mandate at an end, and proclaimed confidently that the territory will be defended, come what may. This confidence is based on the belief that the imperialist backers of the apartheid regime will once again come to its rescue. But this belief is not necessarily correct. World opinion against apartheid—especially African and Asian opinion—is deep-rooted and cannot be ignored. Nor can public opinion in the imperialist countries themselves be ignored, if it is adequately mobilised by such bodies as the Anti-Apartheid Movement. This was shown by the Negro and progressive movement in the U.S. which recently compelled Johnson to cancel shore-leave for an American aircraft carrier visiting Cape Town. The same opinion, aroused to greater heights, can compel the enforcement of the United Nations decision on South-West Africa. Here, too, there have been the beginnings of armed resistance against apartheid, inspired by the liberation movement of the territory.

Britain's ceding of formal independence to Botswana and Lesotho also creates potential dangers for the apartheid regime. To Vorster's gratification the minority Leabua Jonathan government of Lesotho has accepted a position of subservience to South Africa; but this role is by no means accepted by the Basotho people, with their long tradition of fighting for independence and hatred of apartheid. Thus a critical situation has been created in Lesotho, which can erupt at any time. A similar situation exists in Botswana. The Seretse Khama government is economically dependent on its powerful and aggressive neighbour, but the interests of all sections of the population demand a greater measure of economic independence, as well as the protection of the interests and the human rights and dignity of the thousands of Botswana kinsfolk living in the Republic. These are new States whose attitudes and policies are in the process of formation, and are powerfully influenced by external events. The association of Botswana and Lesotho with the O.A.U. for instance, cannot but broaden their outlook, strengthen their will for real independence—and move them in more progressive directions.

Within the Republic itself the continuous extension of repressive laws and measures, amounting virtually to a permanent 'state of emergency' is one indication of the powerful resentment and rebelliousness seething below the surface of the 'peace and quiet' enforced by terror. New measures for total conscription, massive increases in military and police expenditure, more vicious laws—all these betray

the deep sense of insecurity which the confident government propaganda is designed to conceal.

Every section of the non-white population is suffering from ever more fierce applications of colour discrimination, race classification and other aspects of so-called 'separate development'. The Transkei—ruled by emergency regulations since 1960—is still without a shred of genuine self-rule despite all Verwoerd's false promises. Here, too, in attempting to divert the course of African liberation, the Nationalist government has created an area of instability for itself. The other rural areas are in a similar position; in the towns the workers face acute economic problems, with steadily rising living costs, unaccompanied by anything like commensurate increases in wages.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The revolutionary spirit of the national liberation movement, whose core is the African National Congress, remains undaunted. Its leaders and members have shown resilience and determination following the heavy blows suffered in the period since the widespread arrests of 1963.

To find successful methods of underground organisation in the face of the terror methods of the government and its special branch; to take effective steps to respond to systematic violent suppression by armed resistance; to find new forms of organisation of the fighting unity of all sections of our people—these are the tasks which face the liberation movement in the present stage of the South African Revolution. We are confident that their steeled and capable leaders are finding the means to accomplish them.

The present phase of the South African struggle inevitably involves the opening up of a new front of struggle: the beginning of guerilla actions by armed and trained freedom-fighters, backed by revolutionary struggles of the masses of workers and peasants, against the white supremacy state. The opening of such a new front in itself will have the most powerful effect and evoke a powerful response among the masses, increasing their confidence, spirit and militancy.

But it is not enough to await such happenings. Preparatory work to bring about the new phase includes ceaseless efforts, whatever the difficulties and risks, to counter the lying propaganda of the government, to arouse the resistance and spirit of the people.

The central task before us is the building and strengthening, within South Africa, of the main organisation of the African majority, the A.N.C., and its allies among the Indian and Coloured people. It is necessary to carry out the essential tasks of education and organisation in the Congress spirit, the spirit of the Freedom Charter, even though

the Congresses have been virtually put out of action by arbitrary bans and victimisation. It is necessary to sustain the spirit of militant trade unionism asserted by S.A.C.T.U.; so that both industrially and politically the working class can be mobilised to play its leading role in the liberation struggle. It is necessary to arouse and mobilise progressive whites to support the national liberation movement, a task which was carried out by the C.O.D. before it was suppressed. The need exists as never before to mobilise the peasantry, and the womenfolk and youth of our country. And all these tasks need to be co-ordinated, in accordance with a common perspective and plan.

The A.N.C. has recently taken important measures to establish such unity of direction and purpose. This marks a great step forward and is a tribute to the seriousness with which it upholds the spirit of the Charter and the Congress Alliance. These efforts call for the whole-hearted support of everyone who is devoted to the liberation of our country.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The present period of unrestrained reaction, the darkest in our country's history, has faced our Party with the severest trials of its forty-five years of existence. Hundreds of our members, faced with jail, torture and death, have conducted themselves in a manner which has added honour to our people, our Party and the international Communist movement. As our Comrade Bram Fischer—himself an outstanding example of revolutionary devotion—said in his fine Court statement:

> 'It was always the members of the Communist Party who were prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most; to give of their best, to face the greatest dangers in the struggle . . .'

The South African Communist Party is an inseparable and indispensable part of the national liberation movement of our country in the democratic revolution. It has proved an unfailing source of strength and inspiration to the movement as a whole, whose members have recognised through their own experience the sincerity and loyalty of the Communists to the common cause, and that they have no interests separate from those of the workers and oppressed people.

The Central Committee reiterates its firm adherence to the cardinal and programmatic principle of our Party—strengthening the united front of national liberation; unity of Communists and non-Communists in the fight against the enemy: imperialism and white supremacy.

We reaffirm our support for the Freedom Charter, the common programme of the Congress Alliance, and our unqualified readiness

to co-operate in measures of united and co-ordinated action for the achievement of the aims of the Charter.

We call upon all our members to work tirelessly as a primary duty to build and strengthen the revolutionary mass organisations of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa.

At the same time, the C.C. points out that the strengthening of the independent organisation of the Party itself is a vital and indispensable task of every member. There can be no conflict between these two tasks, for experience has fully demonstrated that the stronger our Party is and the higher the level of consciousness and activity of its members, the greater the contribution we shall be able to make to the common cause.

The sources of strength of the Communist Party are its closeness to the masses of workers and peasants and the creative application of the universally-valid science of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of South Africa, and to our work at all levels. It is only by drawing afresh on these sources that we shall achieve the high standards of discipline and devotion, the understanding and confidence in our people and our future, which are called for in the arduous struggles and complex problems we now face.

These conditions demand that every member and supporter of the Party should make the most strenuous efforts to become a more effective leader, educator and student, organiser and fighter for the liberation of our country. The very fact that so many of our finest members have been jailed and otherwise incapacitated by the enemy places on all of us the duty to work all the harder and more effectively for the victory to which they sacrificed so much.

The conditions also demand that the Party renew its ranks and draw in the best elements of the revolutionary youth and working people of our country; that it exercise constant vigilance against spies and informers; that systematic training and study by all members should be carried on to maintain a high standard of political consciousness and ability to tackle the many difficulties before us.

The Party's theoretical journal *The African Communist* must be developed to an increasing extent as a focus of organisation and political consciousness. Its circulation, both in South Africa and elsewhere, should be substantially broadened, and *A.C.* study-circles established, both to strengthen the journal and to act as centres of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The most persistent efforts must be made, in spite of all the dangers and difficulties, to bring the message and the organisation of the Party to the masses of workers and oppressed people of South Africa.

This year, 1967, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October

Socialist Revolution, which struck a shattering blow at imperialism, racialism and capitalism, and opened a new era in human history. This great turning-point, and all the epoch-making achievements which have followed it, ensure the triumph of the cause of freedom for our people and the downfall of their oppressors.

Let this year also mark a great advance in the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa—which is also the cause of the African Revolution as a whole.

Workers and oppressed people, unite in resistance to apartheid and tyranny!

Power to the people!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the South African Communist Party declares that all communists everywhere are faced with a most urgent need to come together and collectively evaluate the serious new problems facing our movement, such as:

(a) the U.S. aggression in Vietnam;

(b) the counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism on a world scale, particularly the attempts to recolonise Africa;

(c) the need for unity of all anti-imperialist forces and in the first place of the Communist vanguard.

We appeal to all fraternal parties to support the convening of an international meeting for this purpose. This historic year, 1967, which commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, should be the occasion to strengthen more than ever the unity of the International Communist Movement, the working class and national liberation movements—the united front against imperialism and war.

EVENTS IN CHINA

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT in South Africa has long been inspired by the Chinese Revolution and the achievements of the Communist Party of China. In the face of the fascist police terror and anti-Communist legislation in our country, we ceaselessly expressed the solidarity of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa with their Chinese brothers and sisters in their long and heroic struggles—against Japanese imperialism; against the Chiang Kai-shek regime of reaction and subservience to imperialism. We rejoiced at their victories, especially the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the laying of the foundations for the advance to socialism in this vast, economically underdeveloped country.

It is with deeper regret, therefore, and the gravest anxiety, that we have witnessed the ever-widening departure of the Mao Tse-tung leadership from the principles of scientific communism. Ever since the dominant group in the Chinese Communist Party repudiated the correct and unanimously agreed policies adopted at the world meeting of eighty-one Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, it has step by step moved towards policies and actions whose consequences have proved damaging to the cause of peace, freedom and socialism, and to the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

In their external policy, the Chinese leaders have undermined and jeopardised the unity of the anti-imperialist front, of the communist movement and of the socialist countries. Their factional and disruptive activities in the trade union, national liberation, peace and many other international organisations, have diverted these movements from their tasks and impeded their progress. South African representatives at African, Afro-Asian and other solidarity and progressive meetings and conferences have time and again experienced the disruption, unprincipled manoeuvres and even racialist appeals instigated by delegations from China.

What causes the gravest concern is the mounting campaign of vilification directed against the leaders of other socialist countries and especially against the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union. Claiming to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism from the danger of 'revisionism', the Chinese Government is in practice conducting a venomous and unscrupulous anti-Soviet campaign. It has even gone to the extent of staging a series of provocations obviously designed to bring about a breach of state relations with the U.S.S.R.

Inside China, the anti-Marxist practice of adulation and irrational glorification of a single person has grown to absurd proportions. The theoretical and practical work of Mao Tse-tung and the Central

Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the problems of the Chinese revolution has always been held in general esteem. But to hold up Mao's 'thoughts' as the source of all wisdom, and of universal validity, as is now being done in China, is to attempt to convert communism into a sectarian cult. There is no indication that the youth of China are being encouraged to study directly and to absorb the classical writings of scientific socialism, the works of genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Instead they are trained mechanically to parrot formulae by rote, to memorise selected passages from the works of a single person. Ignoring the bitter lessons of the period of the personality cult, with its stultifying effects and other harmful consequences, the Chinese leaders have resorted to a similar practice today.

Clearly widespread opposition to the Mao group's policies has developed in China, extending to all levels of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the trade union movement. It is to be regretted that this opposition has not been met, nor differences of policy resolved, within the framework of socialist legality provided by the constitution of the People's Republic of China, nor on the basis of democratic centralism within the Communist Party of China. Instead the Mao group is acting in a factional manner. It has set up, outside the Party and especially among the teenage youth, a new organisation of so-called 'Red Guards' which, in conjunction with the dominant army leadership, takes it upon itself to oust Party and State leaders. It is now eleven years since the Party held a National Congress. It has been reported that the Young Communist League and the trade unions have been dissolved. It is astonishing to read in the official Chinese publications that what is supposed to be occurring is no longer only a 'cultural revolution' but a 'rebellion' aiming to 'seize power' from 'those in authority'. Until now, 'those in authority' in China, have been the elected leaders of the Communist Party. It is hard to avoid fears that under the cover of 'revolutionary' slogans such tactics and methods are leading to the undermining of the Communist Party, the sacrifice of its leading role, and the eventual replacement of the democratic rule of the workers and peasants by an arbitrary dictatorship.

These tragic distortions of Communist theory and practice, are far from being of mere academic interest or the exclusive concern of China. The wrong policies within China endanger the gains of the Chinese Revolution and weaken the world anti-imperialist front. The anti-Soviet external policies of China today benefit no one but the imperialists. To a large extent these wrong policies have already been responsible for unnecessary setbacks and reverses. The imperialists have been emboldened and encouraged by the division within the

socialist camp to intensify their counter-revolutionary offensive from Vietnam and Indonesia to the Congo and Ghana.

The oppressed people of our country and the whole of Southern Africa are vitally concerned with the strengthening and consolidation of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world. We, the victims of a vicious anti-African regime of white minority domination backed by and dependent upon the big imperialist powers, are sharply conscious that the splitting of the international forces of freedom and socialism are against our interests, prolonging our suffering and humiliation. The oppressed people of our country and all honest revolutionaries are indignant at the unprincipled backing given by the Chinese Government to certain discredited splinter groups of Southern Africa. These groups are known to all, including the Chinese Government, for their racialism, anti-communism and disruption of the liberation struggle. By associating with them, the Chinese leaders only expose their own opportunism and lack of principle.

The Central Committee calls upon all members and supporters of the Party and upon all the revolutionary democrats of our country, to expose the anti-Marxist policies put forward in the name of the Communist Party of China which have already done a great deal of harm to the working class and liberation movement. We call upon all our members to fight energetically for the unity of the world communist movement as the heart and soul of the world-wide anti-imperialist fighting front against colonialism and aggression, for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism.

About Our Journal

The costs of producing and posting *The African Communist* have gone up steeply since our first printed issue in 1960. But until now the price has remained the same.

We regret that with this issue the price per copy and the subscription rates have had to be increased, outside Africa. The new rates are printed on the inside front cover.

Existing subscribers at the old rate will continue to receive the journal until their subscriptions expire, without extra payment.

The price per copy and subscription rates remain at the old level for readers living in any part of Africa.

We are convinced that most of our readers will agree that, even at the new rates, *The African Communist* still represents outstanding value for money, and do not therefore anticipate a fall in sales as a result of this change.

On the contrary, we appeal to all our supporters and readers to make every effort to increase the sales and distribution of *The African Communist*, so as to make it an even more effective weapon for the liberation of our people and the unity and advancement of our continent to full independence and socialism.

The Arusha Declaration

TANZANIA'S NEW REVOLUTION

Toussaint

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. We now intend to bring about a revolution which will ensure that we are never again victims of these things.

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION.

THERE COULD BE no doubting the popular response to the blueprint for advance to socialism adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Tanganyika African National Union, meeting at Arusha from January 26th to 29th. The Arusha Declaration touched off an immediate mass response. In Dar es Salaam and other centres the workers poured out into the streets in spontaneous mass demonstrations of welcome and support. Their intentions were clear. Socialism was the direction in which they wanted their leaders to lead.

Within days of the Arusha Declaration of principles, the Government of Tanzania took bold and decisive action. In President Nyerere's words:

Since February 5th we have nationalised all banks . . . except for the Co-operative Bank. . . . We have taken into public ownership the following firms which are engaged in the processing of foods normally purchased from or through the National Agricultural Products Board (a list of eight big mills and other food processing enterprises is given). We have nationalised the National Insurance Corporation Ltd. . . . As from February 11th, all new life insurance . . . will be handled by this corporation. . . . Other types of insurance business will also be handled exclusively by the N.I.C. Then, to form the nucleus of the State Trading Corporation which will be the authorised body for External and Wholesale Trade, we have nationalised the following firms (a list of eight major trading firms follows). . . . We shall pay full and fair compensation for assets acquired and . . . honour all existing commitments.

Public Ownership in Tanzania, Sunday News, 12.2.67.

President Nyerere stated that, while this was a complete list of firms to be nationalised in terms of the Arusha Declaration, it was intended, through negotiation to acquire a controlling government share in a further list of private industrial firms. It was also intended to secure a controlling interest in the sisal industry for the government. While there would continue to be a place for private enterprise in Tanzania's economy 'the key positions of the economy have been secured for the nation'.

The Arusha Declaration is not just a high-sounding manifesto. It is a working resolution to guide a working political organisation. It is more than a statement of aims; it is the springboard from which the T.A.N.U. government launched a dynamic movement to reshape Tanzania. It is in this light, and not as an abstract or doctrinaire series of generalisations, that we should consider the terms of the Declaration.

The document opens with a restatement of the aims already embodied in the T.A.N.U. constitution, which—in addition to general principles of human rights, democracy, African unity and world peace, such as one would expect in the objectives of a national liberation movement—contains a number of specifically socialist directions. The T.A.N.U. 'creed' declares:

> That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants.
>
> That in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principal means of production.
>
> That it is the responsibility of the State to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation . . . to prevent the exploitation of one person by another, one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

It is clear that the meeting at Arusha considered that these general statements of principle needed to be made more precise, amplified and put into practice. That is just what the second part of the Declaration sets out to do. It begins by setting out four major essentials of a socialist policy. These are:

(a) *The absence of exploitation:*

Tanzania is a state of workers and peasants, says the Declaration, but it is not yet a socialist state; it still has elements of capitalism and feudalism. A true socialist state will do away with these elements; it will not have 'two classes of people: a lower class consisting of people who work for their living, and an upper class consisting of those who live on other people's labour'. In a socialist state no person will exploit another: everyone who is able to work 'does so and gets a fair income for his labour, and incomes do not differ substantially'.

(b) *Workers' and peasants' control of the means of production.*

> The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the peasants and the workers themselves, through their Government and their Co-operatives.

The 'major means of production' are defined as:

> the land; forests; mineral resources; water; oil and electricity; communications, transport, banks, insurance, import and export trade; wholesale business; the steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement and fertiliser factories; the textile industry; and any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depends for its living or which provides essential components for other industries; large plantations, especially those which produce essential raw materials.

(c) *Democracy.*

But nationalisation is not necessarily socialism, as the Declaration points out. West European welfare-state theorists have vulgarised the meaning of the term, and equated policies of nationalisation in a country dominated by capitalism with 'socialism'. T.A.N.U. rejects such illusions.

> A state is not socialist simply because all, or all the major, means of production are controlled and owned by the government. *It is necessary for the government to be elected and led by peasants and workers.* If the racist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa were to bring the major means of production in these countries under their control and direction this would entrench exploitation. It would not bring about socialism. *There cannot be true socialism without democracy.* (My emphasis, T.)

(d) *Socialism an ideology.*

Finally, the Declaration makes the key point that socialism can only be built by those who firmly believe in the socialist ideology and are prepared to put its principles into practice. Internationalism and the universal validity of scientific socialist principles are both implicit in this paragraph, which points out that the fellow-believers in the political and economic faith of socialism are 'those in Africa and elsewhere who fight for the rights of the peasants and workers'.

> A true member of T.A.N.U. is a socialist. . . . The first duty of a T.A.N.U. member, and especially of a T.A.N.U. leader, is to live by these principles in his day-to-day life. In particular a T.A.N.U. leader should never live on another's labour, neither should he have capitalist or feudalist tendencies.

The exceptional weight attached to this conception is evident from the practical decisions in the final section of the Declaration, the Arusha Resolution itself, to which we shall refer below. Here the precise qualifications for T.A.N.U. and Government leadership are defined with a strictness and rigidity which should preclude the unfortunate experiences of other African countries where, despite proclaimed loyalty to socialism, the self-enrichment of party and government leaders led to the growth of a bureaucratic bourgeois element and nourished the seeds of counter-revolution.

BALANCED DEVELOPMENT—AND SELF-RELIANCE

Part Three of the Declaration consists of a closely-reasoned and self-critical analysis of some of the most crucial questions facing Tanzania —and not only Tanzania!—on the path of independent development. All the countries of the world which—as a result of the domination of imperialism and colonialism—lag behind economically, and hence in standards of living, education, health and welfare—are striving as rapidly as possible to overcome the gap. Lacking internal resources for capital accumulation and state expenditure on public services, many of them have placed the main emphasis on external aid. Attention has been concentrated on industries, while neglecting agriculture and the rural areas. The Arusha Declaration boldly challenges this balance of concentration. In the past, it admits, 'money' has been seen by the T.A.N.U. leadership as the answer to almost every problem.

> By our thoughts, words and actions, it appears as if we have come to the conclusion that without money we cannot bring about the revolution. . . . It is as if we had all agreed to speak with one voice saying: 'If we get money we shall develop; without money we cannot develop.'

Everything—water conservation plans, housing, schools, roads, economic progress—all were seen to turn on the question of getting —somewhere, somehow—money to make it possible.

> If one calls on the government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. . . . We realise that the cow has no more milk . . . We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself so that her calves could drink it or . . . which could be sold to provide more comfort for itself or its calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more.

Can the shortfall then not be made up by outside aid?

> It would be even more stupid for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own

financial resources. . . . There is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans or establish industries to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets.
Even if it were possible . . . is this what we really want? Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. . . . It would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation.

If not gifts, what about loans?

Loans are better than 'free' gifts. A loan is intended to increase our efforts or make those efforts more fruitful. . . . But even loans have their limitations. You have to give consideration to the ability to repay. . . . To burden the people with big loans, the repayment of which will be beyond their means, is not to help them but to make them suffer. It is even worse when the loans they are asked to repay have not benefited the majority of the people, but have only benefited a small minority.

Or foreign investments?

We need these enterprises. We have even passed an Act of Parliament protecting foreign investments . . . Even if we were able to convince foreign investors and foreign firms to undertake all the projects and programmes of economic development that we need, is this what we actually want to happen? . . . Would we have agreed to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? . . . How can we build the socialism we are talking about under such circumstances?

And thus, by a process of elimination, T.A.N.U. comes practically to the policy it calls 'Self Reliance'—the realisation that in the building of socialism, outside aid is at worst negative, or inimical; at best hopelessly inadequate. They face not merely an economic task of development, but also a political task of consolidating and securing the nation's independence. And this, whether easy or not, must be done in the end of ends by the people themselves, relying on their own resources.

PEASANTS AND INDUSTRY

Along what lines then does Tanzanian development lie, with its starting point 'self-reliance' of a desperately poor people? The dilemma is where to concentrate—in town or country, on industry or agriculture?

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake. We have put too much emphasis on industries. . . . It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries . . . We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries. . . . Even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy of socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in our country might succeed in giving us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism, unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build socialism.

The Arusha Declaration, accordingly, turns T.A.N.U.'s face resolutely towards the countryside and the peasantry. One of the special consequences of earlier concentration on industry has been an inevitable simultaneous concentration on urban development.

> We cannot establish an industry in each village and through this means effect a rise in the real income of the people. . . . We spend most of our money in the urban areas, and our industries are established in the towns. Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is used to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, it still has to be repaid. But it is obvious that it cannot be repaid just out of money obtained from urban and industrial development. To repay the loans we have to use foreign currency which is obtained from the sale of our exports. *But we do not sell our industrial products in foreign markets, and indeed it is likely to be a long time before our industries produce for export. It is therefore obvious that the foreign currency we shall use to pay back the loans . . . will not come from the towns or the industries. Where shall we get it from? We shall get it from the villages and from agriculture. . . .* Those who benefit directly from development are not the ones who will repay the loans.

Thus the danger arises of another form of exploitation: that of the countryside by the towns. For while the industries, hospitals, roads, electricity, piped water and other urban developments did not directly benefit the farmer, they were paid for 'by the foreign exchange earned by the sale of his produce. 'If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation . . . is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.' That is why the Declaration emphasises: 'Let us be concerned about the peasant farmer'.

Of course it should not be assumed from the above that T.A.N.U. has turned its back either on industrialisation or on external aid. This is a question of emphasis. Certainly industrialisation is the goal. 'The day we become industrialised we shall be able to say we are developed.' But the goal is not the starting point. 'The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries.' But the basis of development is agriculture.

Tanzania has more than ten million people. A great part of its 362,000 square miles of territory is fertile and gets sufficient rain. It produces food crops, some of which can be exported, and cash crops. The country is suitable for animal husbandry; the lakes, rivers and coastal waters abound in fish. The only road to develop the country —to 'get more food and more money for every Tanzanian'—is to make the fullest use of these natural resources, to increase agricultural production.

The conditions for achieving these objectives, according to the Declaration, are hard work, and intelligence.

HARD WORK

Here—and as far as I am aware for the first time in a major declaration by any African political organisation—T.A.N.U. makes a frontal attack on the traditional customs of rural life which are characteristic in many regions. Stemming from the olden days, when the division of labour was that men were hunters and warriors and women attended to agriculture, these traditions are a major stumbling block to development. 'In the villages the women work very hard. At times for twelve or fourteen hours a day . . . harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages . . . are on leave for half their lives.'

> The energies of the millions of men in the villages . . . are a great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations.
>
> To hard work must be added intelligence.

By this, T.A.N.U. means the application of knowledge and good techniques to work in the counrtyside. Hard work must be combined with good methods:

> Using a big hoe instead of a small one; using a plough pulled by oxen instead of an ordinary hoe; the use of fertilisers; the use of insecticides; knowing the right crop for a particular season or soil; choosing good seeds for planting; knowing the right time for planting, weeding, etc.; all these things show the use of knowledge and intelligence.

The Declaration points out that the good results of the Five-Year Development Plan have sprung almost entirely from the people's efforts through such well-directed work; increasing production 'tremendously' of cotton, cashew nuts, tobacco and pyrethrum; and completing such development projects in the villages as the building of schools, dispensaries, community centres, roads, wells, water-channels, dams and animal dips.

Thus the Declaration comes to the conclusion that, at this stage, the future development of the country depends on the land, the people, the policy of socialism and self-reliance, and good leadership.

> In our country, work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of.
> The people should always be ready to defend their nation when they are called upon to do so.
> It is necessary for everyone to work and to live on his own labour . . . for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability.

This is the concrete immediate meaning of 'self-reliance'. In essence it is an attempt to build a new national conscience, a new social conscience, and a new Tanzanian man who will be the builder of Tanzanian socialism.

> If every individual is self-reliant, the ten-house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant, the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant, the District will be self-reliant. If the districts are self-reliant, then the Region is self-reliant; and if the regions are self-reliant, then the whole Nation is self-reliant, and that is our aim.

LEADERS AND PARTY

It is an aim that will not easily be realised. For in a country like this, educationally backward, economically undeveloped, it will need heroic endeavours. It is an aim requiring that the whole nation lift itself by its own strength. Such a task—under different but certainly no easier circumstances—has been undertaken and achieved before today, in the pioneer socialist countries.

But everywhere where it has been done, the key to success has been the party which led the nation, its ideology, its unity, its cohesion, its preparedness for the task. And so, having stated the aim, T.A.N.U.'s Declaration comes again to this basic task of leadership, and of the party which must undertake it.

> T.A.N.U. realises the importance of good leadership. The problem is that we have not prepared proper plans for the training of leaders. The Party Headquarters is now called upon to prepare specific plans for the training of leaders from the national level down to the ten-house cells, so that all may understand our political and economic policies. . . .

And again:

> The National Executive Committee feels that the time has come to shift away from mere size of membership on to the quality of membership. Greater consideration must be given to the member's commitment to the beliefs and objectives of the Party, and its policy of socialism.

In a sense the most crucial element of the Arusha Declaration is precisely this emphasis on the concept and understanding that socialism can only be built by a vanguard Party, fully committed to the scientific principles of socialism, and purged of the petty-bourgeois careerist and ambitious elements who are invariably attracted to the ranks of any ruling Party.

We have observed precisely this problem in other countries of Africa, where socialist goals have been announced, but no practical steps have been taken towards their realisation. Or where a genuinely socialist-orientated leadership has actually taken decisions favouring the workers and peasants, and such decisions have been sabotaged in practice by local Party and state officials who saw in state enterprises and co-operatives merely an opportunity for enriching themselves.

The dangers and difficulties are increased a great deal by the fact that the ruling parties were not originally class parties of workers and peasants aiming to achieve socialism. They were mass, all-class parties,

including the working people and also bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, feudalist and tribalist leaders, united not for socialism but for the common goal of ousting colonialist direct rule and gaining constitutional independence. Not abstract theory but the reality of the struggle has taught honest African patriots that formal independence is not enough; that the capitalist road is incompatible with real independence; that only the advance to socialism can secure the gains of the African revolution and satisfy the needs and aspirations of the masses. But we have also learnt—and here again, not from theoretical generalisations but from experience—that taking this hard road involves bitter class struggles, against those privileged strata and classes within African society who are satisfied with the status quo, who prefer the capitalist road and are even prepared to collaborate with foreign imperialism at the cost of independence, to secure their selfish personal and class objectives.

Such class struggles, requiring the political enlightenment and participation of the masses, cannot be led by the old style mass movements, deeply penetrated at all levels by capitalist, feudalist, and self-seeking careerist bureaucratic elements. Either a new political vanguard must emerge, a workers' and peasants' party imbued with and dedicated to the principles of scientific socialism—or conscious and vigorous efforts must be made to *transform* the national liberation movement into just such a party, by raising its ideological level and weeding out all elements hostile to socialism from every position of leadership and authority.

It is the second alternative that T.A.N.U. has chosen. In the long run it is not just socialist declarations and decisions taken at top level that will count; it is the success or failure of the Arusha Resolution—the operative part five of the Declaration—which in effect is devoted into transforming T.A.N.U. into a Peasants' and Workers' Socialist Party.

And it is here that the Declaration is at its most specific.

Every T.A.N.U. and Government leader, it states, 'must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism'. What gives additional confidence that this resolution means business is that the term 'leader' is precisely defined: it comprises executive members of T.A.N.U., Cabinet Ministers and M.P.S, senior officials of affiliated T.A.N.U. organisations and parastatal organs, all those appointed or elected in terms of the T.A.N.U. constitution, councillors and civil servants in high and middle cadres. For good measure it is added that the prohibitions listed apply not only to the men, or women, involved but also to their wives, or husbands.

The prohibitions are formidable.
No T.A.N.U. or government leader may:
* hold shares in any company,
* hold directorships in any privately-owned enterprise,
* receive two or more salaries,
* own houses which he rents to others.

'CORRUPTION IS TREASON'

The emphasis on personal austerity of party and state leaders may seem unwarranted to those who think in terms of the 'affluent societies' of West Europe and North America, where public corruption is on so vast a scale, with enormous monopolies holding governments in the palm of their hands, that the seizing of small advantages by politicians passes almost unnoticed. In our African countries, the problem is of a different order.

One of the besetting troubles in the independent states of Africa has been the fact that so many of the lively, the ambitious and the energetic have been lured from the path of duty to the people and to Africa by the lust for personal enrichment and aggrandisement. This alien infection—the bourgeois ethic of individual acquisitiveness, regardless of the cost to others—was spread in Africa mainly by the former colonial masters.

Harmful enough in their own countries, it can be a devastating epidemic in societies where millions lack the elementary needs of a decent life and even food. Personal wealth, even when puny by European capitalist standards, provides a glaring contrast in a country like Tanzania where wage rates average £8 16s. per month (1964). Advantages which, in advanced capitalist society are regarded as fairly trivial 'perks' of office or prominence—high salaries for Parliamentarians, membership of a Board of Directors, inside information about economic development plans—have proved vastly corrupting in every African country, precisely because they offer wealth on a scale which is huge in comparison with the mass poverty everywhere outside the ranks of the privileged.

Certainly in countries whose future depends on the mobilising of a gigantic effort by the masses to attain the high road of true independence advancing to socialism, the existence of widespread racketeering and ostentatious wealth among leaders and officials can be utterly demoralising, endangering not only progressive plans but even the stability and security of a progressive government.

T.A.N.U., I think, is quite correct when—in contrast to certain other African leading parties, it places such stress on the need for integrity and personal modesty in the lives of public leaders and officials, and

fights against the sort of corruption which turns political leaders, former patriots and party activists into petty careerists, aiming at anti-social goals of personal enrichment at the expense of the nation. To this theme, President Julius Nyerere has returned over and over again in his speeches for many years.

> I believe myself corruption in a country should be treated almost in the same way as you treat treason. . . . We have got to have people in local government, in the trade unions, in the co-operative movement, in the political organisations, in the Civil Service and in the Government itself, in whom our own people have absolute confidence. It we can't have it, then I cannot see how the people of Tanganyika are going to get the true benefits of the independence for which they have been struggling.
>
> *Speech in Parliament*, May 17th, 1960.

Thus the fight against personal corruption in Tanzania is not a new thing. It has been the hallmark of T.A.N.U. leadership and that of President Nyerere in particular for many years. But in the context of the Arusha Declaration, this fight acquires a new dimension. It is not just bribery and graft which are the enemy. It is a question of forging a party of a new type. It must be a party utterly dedicated, with singleness of purpose. It must be a party of devoted workers for the cause of socialism, who not only teach socialist principles but also practise them. It must be a party of peasants and workers whose leaders are free from the corrupting influence of exploitation and have no stake in capitalism.

Ultimately, the conquest of the inspiring goals of Arusha will depend on whether T.A.N.U. can successfully transform itself into just such a new-type Party, a peasants' and workers' party of socialism.

Of all the formidable tasks which T.A.N.U. has taken on in its new phase since Arusha, this—the building of a party composed of dedicated socialists, ideologically trained and mature, and ready to carry out the active tasks of mobilising an entire people—is perhaps the most challenging.

There is a great deal, both in the record and style of work of T.A.N.U. and in the Arusha Declaration itself, which inspires confidence that this formidable task will be surmounted. Like every active political organisation, especially those in Africa where we are sailing uncharted waters, and tackling unprecedented tasks, T.A.N.U. has made its mistakes. Some of them are frankly dealt with and admitted in the Declaration itself. The very fact that they are admitted, analysed and dealt with seriously is the most striking indication of the fundamental soundness and honesty of T.A.N.U. The complex and profound problems of independent African development call for original solutions and the study and recognition of our realities in a spirit of scholarly

humility. They will never be solved by those, however brilliant, who rely on generalities, consider they know all the answers in advance, and refuse to learn from and grow with their experiences.

The real impetus for Tanzania's new revolution comes from the urgent economic needs of the country. It is plain to anyone reading the Arusha document that it did not proceed from theoretical conceptions but was forged directly on the anvil of experience in Tanzania itself. It sprang from the hard and real struggle between those who speak for the working masses and are pressing forward to socialism, and those whose 'socialism' is confined to lip-service while in practice they veer towards capitalism and privilege. The experiences of independence, its problems and challenges, lead African patriots irresistibly to the scientific socialism of Marx—not by reference to theory but through honest striving to overcome the problems set by their own lives.

The language of Arusha is straightforward and direct. It is not couched in philosophical terminology, but speaks to the plain man in words he can understand. There might be some who consider themselves Communists, who might complain that the language of Arusha does not conform with the classical formulations of Marx and Lenin; or that the detailed programme differs from that of scientific socialists in other countries. I think they are wrong on both counts

In the first place, if African leaders who do not start out from the premises of Marxism-Leninism, nevertheless find themselves impelled to adopt more and more of its major theses in order to secure the genuine independence and welfare of the masses—this is not a criticism of those leaders. It is rather a tribute to their honesty, patriotism and concern for the toiling masses. It is also the greatest possible tribute to the universal validity of scientific socialism, proved again in the harshest of all tests, that of practice and struggle. This, and not questions of formulation, is what counts. In any case, socialism in Africa must learn to speak the language of Africa. Anyone who does not recognise these things is not a Marxist but an armchair pedant.

Secondly, scientific socialism is a method for finding the solution to real problems, not a set of formulae applicable to all problems. It would be absurd to expect to find programmes in Africa identical to those for the quite different problems of Europe, or even of Asia. For that matter, the problems will differ from one country or region of our continent, according to varying conditions, and in each case they can and will only be solved by the African socialists of each region.

Arusha does not mark the beginning of T.A.N.U.'s socialism, and it most certainly does not mark the end. There are many more problems

to be solved, and much more to be said. But this historic declaration does mark a very crucial and nodal turning point in the evolution of Tanzanian socialism, to use a phrase of Engels, 'from utopia to science'. It is the coming-of-age of socialism in East Africa which is bound to have far-reaching effects over a very wide area and a long period of time.

The vital hill to be climbed now in Tanzania's ascent to the summit of socialism is the building of a leading party of active socialist organisers, teachers and leaders. Arusha marks the beginning of the assault on that hill. Tanzania's pioneering efforts and progress towards the summit will be watched with the keenest interest by all Africa, and aided with all their strength by all those socialists whose outlook is broad enough not to demand that every socialist effort conforms precisely with their own preconceptions, their own formulations and their own slogans.

The Arusha Declaration is also referred to elsewhere in this issue. In our 'Documents' Section we republish an important policy statement by President Nyerere, and a response to the Declaration by Mr. Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa.

THE SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL SURVIVE

TIGANI T. BABIKER

DECEMBER 22nd, 1966, will figure prominently in the annals of the struggle for democracy in the Sudan. On that day, Mr. Salah Hassan, the judge of the Khartoum High Court uttered his verdict on the constitutional case lodged by the Communist Party of the Sudan a year earlier. The verdict stated that the law, passed by mechanical majority in the Constituent Assembly on December 8th, 1965, which banned the Communist Party, deprived its deputies from their lawful parliamentary seats and prohibited the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, 'is unconstitutional and is therefore void with all consequential legislation passed on the force of it, and should be struck off and treated as if it never existed'.

The verdict was received with great joy by the masses and was greeted with huge mass demonstrations. It was a big victory for the cause of democracy.

It seemed that everybody should have abided by the rule of the law. Weeks before the utterance of the verdict the Prime Minister stated that his government would respect the judgement of the court. Indeed, almost a year ago during the initial stages of the case, the High Court of Appeals sustained the decision of the Khartoum High Court in overruling an objection from the Attorney-General concerning its capacity to look into the case. Judging by the fact that the Attorney-General continued to participate in the court proceedings till the end,

it seemed that the government were therefore prepared to accept the findings of the court. But it turned out otherwise.

No sooner was the verdict made public than an emergency sitting of the Assembly was called for the next day. At the outset a resolution was passed which prevented the Communist deputies from attending the sittings of the Assembly. A second resolution stated that since the Assembly is entrusted with the task of formulating a permanent constitution, it is therefore within its capacity to alter and 'amend' the present interim constitution.* The resolution stated further that since the Assembly represents the will of the whole people and is the supreme legislative authority, no court has the right to interfere with the laws it passes.†

Paradoxically the government, that same day, filed an appeal against the verdict. This demonstrates the confusion into which they were thrown. On the one hand they refuse, 'on principle' to admit the capacity of the judiciary to interfere in the matter; on the other, they appeal to higher judicial authorities to reverse the verdict of the Khartoum High Court!

To assert their opposition to the return to legality of the Communist Party, the reactionaries brought their fanatic religious followers from the more backward regions into the capital, hoping thereby to overwhelm and intimidate the revolutionary forces. Collaborating with the Moslem Brothers, paid agents of imperialism and Arab reaction, they attempted to use violence against the mass demonstrations of the democratic forces. The Communist Party issued the slogan 'Meet violence with violence!' The retaliation of the masses was so effective that, after two or three attempts, the reactionaries came soon to realise the futility of their efforts and abandoned frontal attack tactics.

The extreme Right reaped several storms from their attitude in what came to be dubbed 'the constitutional case'.

In one of the rare moments in history the reactionaries were stripped of their false garments as defenders of law and order. Their whole position in the 'crisis' was that of political bandits. Their arguments for banning the Communist Party, allegedly because of its atheism, were revealed in the eyes of the masses as a mere disguise for stifling democracy and trampling upon the constitution.

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* This is not true. In fact all articles referring to the introduction of amendments were deleted from the present constitution.

† This is sheer political brigandism, since the constitution explicitly stipulates that the judiciary is its sole interpreter and that the Khartoum High Court is the authority which judges constitutional cases.

On the other hand they offended the judiciary as a whole. By refusing to accept the verdict of the court and by their arrogant public speeches they showed utter contempt for the judicial system. A crisis between the government and the judiciary materialised. As the days passed this became more pronounced. When the Communists started to put the verdict into effect, by openly conducting their activities, the police arrested them and brought them before courts. The courts, acting on the verdict of the K.H.C., summarily dismissed these cases, set the Communist defendants free and returned their confiscated materials to them!

The attitude of the government helped in further isolating it. Trade unions, lawyers', doctors' and teachers' associations and various mass organisations protested against the actions of the government. The press, almost unanimously, criticised these actions. Influential personalities, including several from the ruling parties, including even a member of the Supreme State Council (a body of five that acts as head of state) disapproved the government's position. The pressure was so strong that the junior partner in the coalition, the National Unionist Party, showed signs of vacillation.

Thus reaction was landed in a desperate situation. Exposed as enemies of democracy and the constitution, antagonising the judiciary and deprived of the full support even of their partners, they sought madly for a solution—any solution!

THE 'COUP' THAT NEVER WAS

And so, in the early hours of Wednesday, December 28th, 1966, the Prime Minister himself announced over the radio that an attempt at a coup d'état was discovered and crushed. He added that all the threads of the plot were under the hands of the government and that the culprits shall receive severe punishment. Hours later, Abdel Khalig Mahjoub, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Shafie Ahmed El Sheikh, General Secretary of the Sudan Federation of Workers' Trade Unions and several others were arrested 'for investigation'! Comrade Mahjoub, in a statement to the press at the time of his arrest, declared that the Communist Party was not a putschist party and that it is inconceivable that the Communists, who fought six years against the military dictatorship would plot a coup. He added that the alleged 'coup' was planned by the rightists in an attempt to find a way out of their troubles and to use it in delivering a blow to the revolutionary movement.

On the Thursday evening the Prime Minister told a press conference that the 'coup' was still a mystery, that investigations would reveal

whether it was part of a big plot (throwing out a hint that a foreign power might be involved) or an adventure of a reckless young officer.* Questioned why the Communists were arrested, he replied that it was just a precautionary measure. Pressed by the journalists he said that the arrests were made because the Communists 'hastened' to denounce the 'coup' and to disassociate themselves from it without being accused!

The intrigue was, however, soon unmasked. Apart from having nothing to gain from staging a coup at that particular time, the Communists had enough facts, not only to establish their disassociation with that particular 'event', but also to point an accusing finger at the government.

For example, the Prime Minister in his first broadcast statement said that the government knew the exact timing of the 'coup' several hours ahead. The question was raised, and with justice, why did the government allow the soldiers to move and to occupy several strategic positions (bridges, the post office, telephones, broadcasting station, the Republican Palace, etc.)? The implication is that, had this been a real coup d'état the alternatives would have been either the overthrow of the government or its victory at the cost of much blood. No sane government would behave in such an irresponsible manner. The only explanation for the behaviour of those in power on the night of December 28th in Khartoum is that they had a hand in plotting the alleged 'coup', and were therefore fully aware that it was under 'control'.

Fearing that any action to bring the detained Communists to court would further its embroilment in this intrigue, the government ordered their release a few days later.

But the reactionaries are still busy with their intrigues against the Communist Party, the staunch vanguard in the struggle against the encroachments of neo-colonialism, against the so-called 'Islamic' pact, for democracy and social progress. However, the revolutionary forces are showing increasing vigilance, their unity is growing and they are in a better position to defeat the plans of reaction and its allies.

'TO BE OR NOT TO BE'

The reactionaries are striving to resolve a philosophical question by means of violence. This merely underlines their political and ideological

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* The leader of the alleged 'coup' was a first-lieutenant twenty-five years old. 'His' forces consisted of fresh draftees under training! During the trial of the officer it transpired that the whole plot was organised and carried out in one day, Tuesday 27th! There is much to suggest that he was threatened into doing what he did.

bankruptcy. Whether the Communist Party is 'to be or not to be' is beyond subjective speculations and desires.

Our Party was founded in 1946. This fact in itself is significant. The upsurge in the working class and national liberation movements, which swept the whole world after the war, had its repercussions in the Sudan. Already towards the end of the war political parties emerged. The anti-colonial struggle assumed a pronounced mass character. But the parties which led this struggle reflected the weakness of the Sudanese middle class. They relied strongly on the Egyptian ruling class and even on the monarchy.

For the young generation of the intellectuals and students of that time, these parties gave no inspiration. While the world revolutionary movement was seething with new ideas, the leaders of the petty-bourgeois parties showed not the least sign of reacting to these ideas. The young generation, awakened to life at a crucial turn in history, had to do the searching themselves for something that would quench their thirst. In feverish enthusiasm they devoured literature about revolution—Egyptian, Indian, Turkish, French, Irish, American, etc., etc. It was in those days that the most promising youth discovered Marxism. Only then did they acquire mental peace. Through Marxism it was possible to understand such phenomena, incomprehensible at the time, of how a section of the people could be pro-colonialist, why the anti-colonial petty-bourgeois parties were weak, cowardly and vacillating, why it was of no avail to expect genuine help from the ruling classes in Egypt, etc., etc.

The birth of the Communist movement in the Sudan was therefore neither arbitrary nor artificial. The international situation was favourable. The mass movement lacked a sufficiently revolutionary leadership. The Communist Party was born of a historical necessity. The fact that it continued to live, to consolidate its positions and to multiply its prestige, stresses the objectivity of this necessity.

In the 1958 general elections, less than 5,000 votes were cast for Communist candidates. In 1965 the Communist Party polled more than 73,000 votes and had 11 deputies in the Constituent Assembly. This is a sign of a living party, a party that is striking its roots deeper and deeper in the life of the people.

During the past twenty years the Communist Party of the Sudan travelled along a difficult road. Young, inexperienced and living in an extremely undeveloped country without industry, with a small working class and a smaller intelligentsia, the party fought against severe odds to become a real mass Marxist-Leninist party.

From the outset we waged a struggle against the intellectual leaders who sought to transform the party into a 'revolutionary' wing for the

petty-bourgeois parties. Victory in this first battle ensured the political and organisational independence of the Communists. The party then directed its efforts to the working class which was hitherto neglected by the former leaders. The first groups of Communist workers were formed. It was due to the initiative of the party and the direct participation of its new revolutionary leaders that these groups led the struggle for the right of the workers to organise in trade unions. This struggle was crowned with success in 1948. Since then the Communist Party had maintained its close ties with the working-class movement.

Next the party strove to organise the student movement. In 1950 the first peasant unions came into being, thanks also to its initiative.

In the struggle against colonialism, the Communist Party played a prominent role. In contrast to the leaderships of the petty-bourgeois parties, who were content with issuing statements of denunciation, the Communists organised mass meetings, street demonstrations and led clashes against the police.

THE COMMUNISTS AND SOUTHERN SUDAN

After independence in 1956 they fought for doing away with all the remnants of colonialism, for taking the revolution further along the path of social progress and for a genuine democracy. Despite its shortcomings, their programme was the only positive one. For example, many Africans know that there is a 'Southern Question' in the Sudan. Since their occupation of the country the colonialists did their best to set South against North, to sow hatred and distrust between the two parts and to sever them in the end.

As far back as 1953 the Communists called for a realistic attitude towards the South, taking into consideration the necessity of respecting the special characteristics of the Southerners. When in August 1955 the colonialists succeeded in leading the Southern soldiers to mutiny, hoping thereby to undermine our imminent independence, and when this mutiny was suppressed and when there was high chauvinistic feeling in the North for the hundreds of Northerners slain during the mutiny, our party courageously came out against any severe punishments. Our party warned that such punishments would play into the hands of imperialism and would open a wound that could never heal. Unfortunately our warning was not heeded, with grave consequences during the following years, entailing great misery and loss of life.

In February 1956, one month after independence, the Third Congress of the Communist Party adopted a new programme. It contained a clear formulation for the solution of the 'Southern Question'. Proceeding from the fact that from the geographical and other points of

view the Southern Sudan stands the best chance of progress in uniting with the North, and from the fact that it is at the same time different from the North, the programme of the Communist Party called for regional autonomy for the Southern national groupings.

Opposing the policies of successive governments the party pointed out that the 'Southern Question' was a political question, that what it required was not a military solution but a democratic solution, and that only in this way can the unity of the Sudan be preserved and strengthened in the interests of both the North and the South.

The Communist point of view was consistently ignored by the parties of the propertied classes. Only after the 1964 October revolution and under pressure from public opinion did these parties concede its correctness. But only in words. As to deeds these parties still pursue the old chauvinistic, great-nationality policy towards the South, thus feeding the fire of hatred between compatriots and serving the interests of colonialism.

THE FIGHT AGAINST ABBOUD

This example can, in a certain measure, convey the magnitude of the effort which the Communist Party had to shoulder in coping with the problems of the revolutionary movement in the Sudan. Despite that, and despite the fact that the party enjoyed respect among wide sections, it remained a small party numerically. The masses were still in the grip of the parties of the propertied classes. It was only towards the second half of 1958 that an appreciable swing to the left was apparent. This was reflected in the formation of joint-action committees, including the Communists, to fight against the policies of the reactionary government, in workers' strikes, especially the general strike of October 21st, 1958, and in the mounting opposition to the American 'aid' agreement. The situation of the government was so precarious that its Prime Minister conspired to install the army in power. That was how the Abboud military dictatorship came into being.

During the Abboud regime the Communist Party was the staunchest fighter for democracy. In terms of prison years the Communists served tens of times as much as all other parties taken together.

In the six years of military rule all the parties were put to severe tests. Moreover those years gave food for reflection over the experience of the masses since independence. Not only were the parties of the propertied classes discredited in the eyes of the advanced sections of the people, but the whole system, the whole path of capitalist development, was also discredited. The Communists won the respect of all honest people for their courageous conduct against the dictatorship.

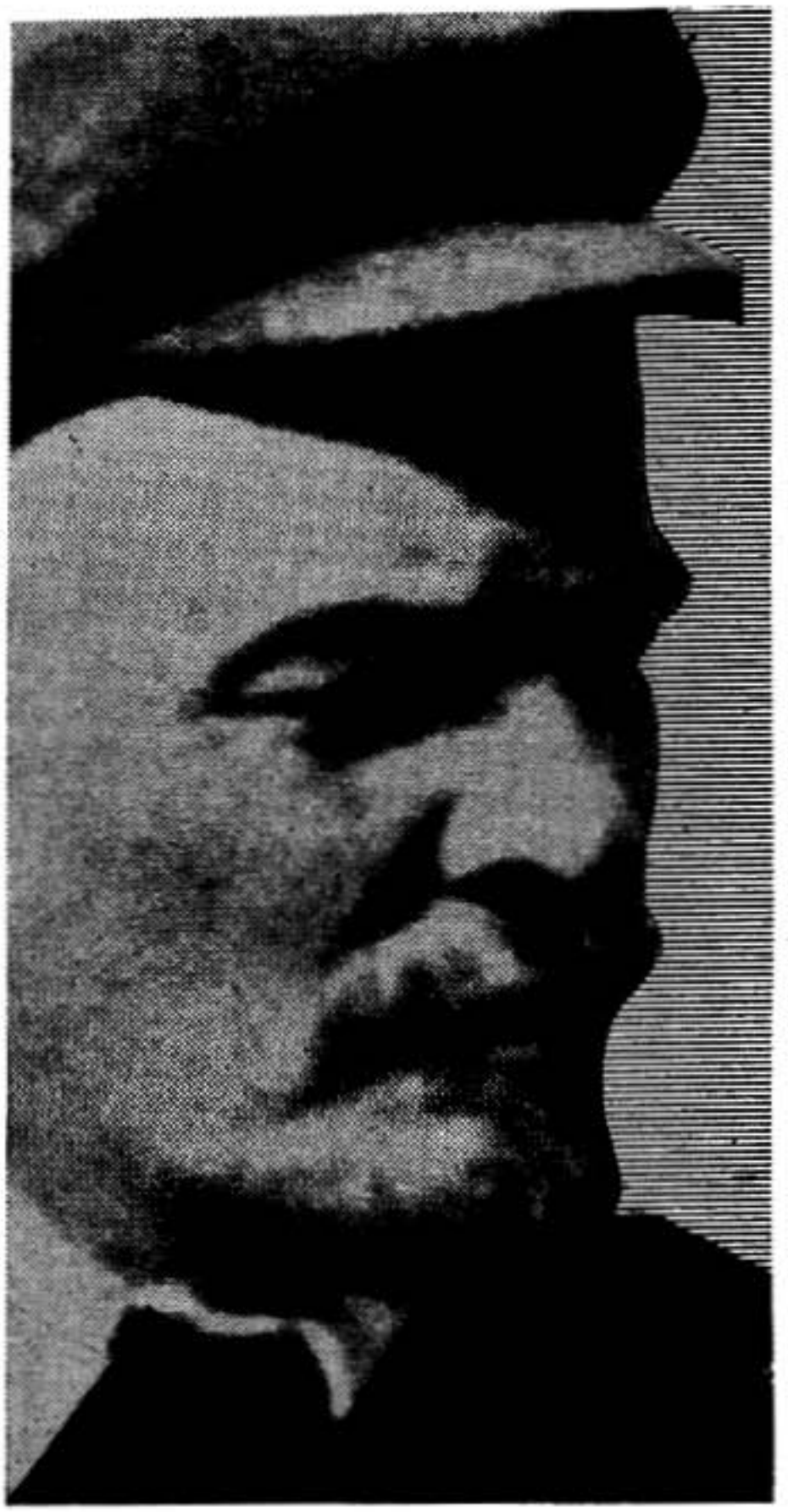
That is why the Communist Party, which played the leading role in the 1964 revolution, has attracted tens of thousands of new members after the victory of that revolution.

* * *

Our party is still searching for ways of being a real Marxist-Leninist party. Even immediately after the ban, the Central Committee opened a general discussion on this question. The result is that we are treading with firm and wide steps towards that goal.

I hope that I have not been understood as conveying a picture of unerring policies and tactics. In fact we have committed several grave mistakes—adventurous ones, dogmatic and opportunist. They did us great harm. But we also fought against them. On the whole the net result is on the credit side. We are confidently advancing towards the realisation of the slogan of our Third Congress: *Transform the Communist Party into a great social force!* We are coping with the intricate problem of building, in the conditions of Africa, a mass Marxist-Leninist party which is not merely a pressure group, but is the vanguard of a revolution that will radically change the face of our country.

Judging by the fact that objective conditions exist for accomplishing this task, and that subjective conditions mature with every passing day, it is impossible to 'finish off' our party. Whatever their ravings and intrigues the Communist Party is here 'to be'.



50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

I: The Background

TERENCE AFRICANUS

FIFTY YEARS AGO an event took place which decisively altered the course of human history. The workers and peasants of the former Russian empire ended the rule of the capitalist bosses and landlords in a vast area covering one-sixth of the world's land surface. This tremendous revolution marked the beginning of a new era: the era of socialism and communism.

This event is known as the Great October Socialist Revolution. Yet it took place not in October, but on November 7th, 1917. The old Russia at that time followed a different calendar to other countries. Nearly all countries had long abandoned the old Julian Calendar (Italy did so in 1582, and Britain in 1752) in favour of the present-day one. But Tsarist Russia still clung to the old calendar, which was eleven days behind, and there November 7th was October 25th. There is, in this circumstance, something deeply symbolic.

For it was not only in the matter of the calendar that old Russia lagged behind.

THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the continent of Europe emerged from the long night of feudalism. In one country after another the bourgeoisie—the town manufacturers and merchants—headed an alliance of the farmers, peasants and the small shopkeepers and urban poor in a series of national and democratic revolutions. Nationalism and democracy were the powerful concepts with which the propagandists of the bourgeoisie rallied the masses to topple the old order: liberty, equality, fraternity, their slogans. 'We hold these truths to be self-evident', proclaimed the American Declaration of Independence, 'that all men are created equal. . . .' Similar splendid principles were pronounced by the victorious revolutionary leaders and in the constitutions of all the new states that arose from the overthrow of the stifling feudal order, with its rigorous and degrading insistence on the hereditary right of the few to be lords and masters over the many destined by law and religion to be their slaves. To many of the best minds of the day, it seemed that the bourgeois revolutions answered all the problems of human injustice and oppression. Of the French Revolution, the English poet Wordsworth wrote ecstatically:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

To Africans, Asians and others these rhapsodies contained a bitter irony. It seemed that all the great phrases about the Rights of Man meant only the Rights of the White Man. Under this banner, the trade in African slaves proceeded apace; with a savagery and efficiency exceeding that of the feudal conquistadores in Central and South America, the North Americans proceeded to decimate and dispossess the redskins; the West Europeans built huge empires, exceeding any hitherto known, in Asia and Africa.

In its home countries too, the capitalist system created by the bourgeois class failed to realise the great hopes for which the masses had fought and sacrificed in the fight against feudalism. Driven from the land, masses of the peasants found themselves transformed into a propertyless proletariat, who could only live by selling their labour power to the new masters, the factory-owners. The former personal relationship between masters and the 'lower classes' was transformed into an impersonal relationship—the 'cash nexus' between man and man, as Marx put it. Once they had achieved their objective, the conquest of state power, the new capitalist rulers showed little sympathy with the masses in whose name they had overthrown the former aristocracy. They exploited them without mercy; they lost their revolutionary

idealism and became a conservative and reactionary force, resisting the people's demands and brutally suppressing their radical movements.

Nevertheless, within these limitations, the bourgeois European (and North American) revolution was a great liberating force. It laid the basis for a tremendous increase in the output of wealth, the process of mass production of goods of all kinds and the system of free exchange of commodities on the market, both within each region and internationally. It broke down the Europe of a thousand warring little principalities, and established viable, modern nation-states. It smashed the political and mental prison-house of feudalism, with its rigid censorship and doctrines such as the divine right of kings, and the hereditary caste system. It spread the revolutionary doctrines of democracy and the equality of human rights—doctrines which socialist thinkers applied in the added dimension of economics to synthesise a new philosophy of human emancipation. By creating the modern working class, capitalism created its own grave-diggers, the pioneers of a new society.

TSARIST ABSOLUTISM

To a very large extent this vast, liberating tidal wave by-passed the old Russian Empire. The absolute Tsarist autocracy, which was closely linked with the Orthodox Church, governed this vast country with an iron hand. In the extreme east of Europe and sprawling over the whole of northern Asia, this vast country was largely insulated from the democratic wave which had begun in the West. Feudalism and serfdom prevailed in the vast estates of the aristocracy long after they had been overthrown elsewhere. Economic development was very slow and limited. The peasants were victims of grinding poverty, illiteracy and oppression.

New, democratic and liberatory ideas were vigorously suppressed. Thousands of the best thinkers were persecuted and imprisoned, rusticated to the remote wastes of Siberia or forced into exile. Progressive and socialist parties and trade unions were banned and driven underground.

The numerous non-Russian peoples who lived in the Tsar's domains were subjected to gross national oppression. Their territories were conquered and kept down by force; their local institutions, languages and cultures suppressed. They were economically colonised and looted; there were frequent massacres ('pogroms') of Jews and other minorities. Tsarist Russia was known as 'the prison of nations'.

In its foreign policy and activities, Tsarist Russia played an extremely reactionary role. It annexed border countries like Poland and Finland;

and interfered to support counter-revolution in every European country. It played the part of 'the policeman of Europe' and Marx wrote (in the inaugural address of the First International in 1864) of 'that barbarous power whose head is at St. Petersburg* and whose hands are in every Cabinet in Europe'.

It is true that the best elements within Tsarist Russia fought hard and bravely against this stifling dictatorship, which did not even make a pretence at parliamentary democracy but was governed by absolute decrees by the Tsar. Russia in the nineteenth century produced outstanding revolutionary democrats like Herzen, Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, whose ideas were in advance of those of the bourgeois-democratic theorists in the West. But, backed up with force and terror, and a vast bureaucracy, the regime succeeded for many years in suppressing rebellions and staving off revolution.

Thus it was that Russia entered the twentieth century in a state of characteristic *backwardness*. Its political structure lacked even those elements of democracy however incomplete (elected parliaments, freedom of speech and organisation, etc.) which prevailed among most of the West European powers. Its agriculture was primitive; industrial development was slow and uneven, and marked by widespread penetration of foreign finance-capital which, in partnership with the Russian bourgeoisie, occupied an important place in the country's economy and were beginning in Russia the practices which we now characterise as neo-colonialism.

Beneath the surface of this regime, there was simmering a tremendous amount of resentment, grievances and rebellion among the revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals of Russia and the oppressed masses of the Asian and other non-Russian nationalities. This revolutionary spirit boiled over in the *Revolution of 1905*.

The Russo-Japanese war had revealed the incompetence, corruption and inner weakness of the regime, as well as causing an economic crisis which brought new misery to the people. Many currents demanding change arose to the surface. One of these was represented by a priest, Father Gapon, who had won a widespread following among the people by his demands for reform. In 1905 he led a mass demonstration before the Tsar's palace in St. Petersburg, petitioning for some elementary demands of the people. The demonstration was peaceful and humble, the workers came unarmed, accompanied by their wives and children. But the authorities were not prepared to tolerate even so moderate a demonstration. Troops opened fire, killing a great many

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* St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) was the capital of the old Russian Empire.

peaceful and unarmed working people. This bloody massacre precipitated a series of general political strikes all over the country, culminating in a mass uprising. The Tsar promised democratic reforms including the calling of an elected parliament (the Duma). But this was neither representative nor did it enjoy real power. The people were not satisfied, and it was not until 1907 that the revolution was crushed. A period of intensive reaction followed.

Though it was not successful in toppling the regime, the 1905 revolution had far-reaching effects and several highly significant features. One of these was the appearance of 'Soviets'*—councils of peasants and workers spontaneously created in many regions on the basis of direct election. Another was the emergence of the industrial working class as the most dynamic, revolutionary and determined section of Russian society. More particularly was this true of those who followed the line of the *Bolshevik party*, the most advanced and clear-sighted workers' political party.

To understand the significance of this name, as well as the background of the parties involved in the upheavals of 1917, it is necessary briefly to trace the development of the various political organisations in the country.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

The very harshness and inflexibility of the autocracy, the obvious need for radical change if Russia were to get rid of backwardness and raise the people's standards of living and culture, and the impossibility of bringing about such change by constitutional means, meant that all the best, most patriotic and courageous representatives of the toiling masses and the enlightened intellectuals turned their minds towards revolution.

The problem was not whether there should be a revolution, but how to bring it about. Every possible theory of political change was considered and tested. Some believed in anarchism or nihilism. Some thought that acts of individual terrorism and the assassination of the tsar or his ministers would precipitate a change. Others, like the famous writer Tolstoy believed in passive resistance. Some thought that the peasantry—who had conducted frequent peasant revolts—would lead the Russian revolution, others placed their confidence in the liberal bourgeoisie. And these theories were not merely discussed eagerly in revolutionary circles: they were attempted in practice, at the cost of

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* Soviet, a Russian word meaning 'Council'.

great losses to the brave freedom fighters. Russia became a veritable laboratory of revolution. Lenin later wrote that:

> Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, virtually through *suffering*, by half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, testing in practice, disappointments, checking and comparison with European experience.

If Russian Marxist organisations were formed later than in the West European countries it was due to the belated development of capitalism, and hence of the working class, and also to the ferocious repression of tsarism and the efficiency and huge size of its secret police. The first such group was established in exile by the famous Marxist philosopher Plekhanov. It was called the Emancipation of Labour Group. This was the forerunner of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

One of the first theoretical tasks of the young Party, at the beginning of the present century, was to counter the incorrect theories of a group known as the Narodniks (populists) which were widespread among the intellectuals and a section of the masses. They believed in a sort of special kind of 'Russian Socialism', based on the peasantry and the system of communal land ownership which was characteristic of the country and continued side-by-side with feudalism. They had no confidence in the working class and rejected the Marxist philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. Their hopes were placed not in class struggle, but in the role of individual 'heroes', the saviours of the 'mob', whose role was merely to follow them. Even as late as 1917 some of these erroneous ideas were reflected in the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which enjoyed a good deal of support among the peasants.

The party of the capitalist class in Russia was the Constitutional Democrats (called the 'Cadets', from their initials in Russian). They opposed the excesses of tsarism, called for economic reform to facilitate capitalist development, and proposed that Russia be transformed into a parliamentary democracy on the lines of Britain or France.

Although they shared a common hostility to tsarism, unity between these opposition groups on most questions was precluded not only by profound differences of aims and outlook, but also by their very different conception of the road to change, differences sharpened by the difficulties of illegal work and exile, and by the very acute and inescapable problems of the course of the struggle itself.

Sharp differences also appeared within the ranks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. From its very first Congress it became clear that there were two groups, each with its own, diametrically opposed, conception of what form the Marxist Party should take. The

first group wanted a loose, formless type of organisation on the lines of the British Labour Party and other Western Social-Democratic parties which they greatly admired. Their conception was one of aiming at a parliamentary capitalist republic in which the workers' representatives would become junior partners in a coalition headed by the bourgeoisie. They considered the peasantry to be a reactionary force.

The second group had a very different conception of the nature and role of the workers' Marxist party. Led by Vladimir Lenin, they emphasised that the Party should be a highly disciplined and centralised body of dedicated revolutionaries. They by no means considered that the forthcoming revolution, coming in the completely changed conditions of the twentieth century, could be a copy of previous bourgeois-democratic revolutions; they believed that the peasantry, in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class, was not at all 'reactionary' but had tremendous revolutionary potential. They considered that the proletariat could, with such an alliance, lead the democratic revolution, isolate the bourgeoisie, and advance rapidly towards socialism.

When a vote was taken at the Congress, the second group won the majority of votes. That is how the two groups came to be called 'Bolsheviks' and 'Mensheviks'—from the Russian words for 'majority' and 'minority' respectively. All the European parties showed similar differences at that time, with the emergence within them of 'Right' (reformist) and 'Left' (revolutionary) wings. In Russia both the exceptional sharpness of the conflict and the requirements of security, in conditions of illegality, led to an organisational separation into two distinct parties.

All parties and all theories were to be subjected to the most searching test in the first great clash of rival imperialist powers that slaughtered millions, shook imperialism to its foundations, and sent Tsarist Russia crumbling in ruins: the war of 1914-18.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The first world war was conducted between two major groupings of European powers (the U.S.A. only came in towards the end). On the one side the main participants were Britain, France and Russia. On the other, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Whatever reasons were put forward by apologists for either side, the main reasons for the war were economic and quite clear to the Marxists. As capitalism developed into its final stage of monopoly-capitalism, imperialism, every imperialist power sought eagerly for colonies in the

countries which were rich in raw materials but backward in economic development—principally Africa and Asia. The main imperialist powers divided the whole world out between them. But as capitalism developed unevenly in different countries, some had not been strong enough at the time of the 'sharing' to get any, or many, colonies. Becoming stronger, they demanded more. The established colony-owning powers resisted. This—and not any fine talk about 'British democracy', 'German culture', or 'French civilisation'—was the real issue of the war.

All the European socialist parties, organised in the Second International, had foreseen the coming war and diagnosed its character. Under pressure of revolutionary elements like Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, they had adopted resolutions calling on all affiliated parties to resist the preparations for war and to try to prevent it. Should these efforts fail, and war nevertheless break out, they were pledged to oppose their own governments and to utilise the social and economic crisis which would result from the war to bring about the overthrow of capitalist class rule.

But when the war came, most of the right-wingers who led the various labour parties, betrayed these correct resolutions. The German, British and French labour leaders took part in the wave of chauvinism, inciting their followers to join up and shoot down their fellow-workers in other countries, and voting in their parliaments in favour of the war budgets of the bourgeois governments.

But there were exceptions: true Marxists and working-class fighters who remained faithful to the decisions of the International. One of the very few Parties which stood absolutely solid against the war was the Bolshevik Party, though minority groups in other parties did the same, such as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany (both were jailed) and the internationalists such as Andrews, Jones and Bunting in the South African Labour Party.

With the exception of the Bolsheviks, the anti-Tsarist parties in Russia were infected with war fever. They decided to 'put the revolution in cold storage' and support the tsarist government's war effort.

But as the war continued, it became more and more clear to the Russian masses that the war was not in their interests.

The tsarist government and its generals poured millions of ill-equipped, ill-armed men (the 'Russian steamroller') into vast and suicidal battles on the Eastern Front. Incompetence, corruption and backwardness of industry and transport meant that the men were often ill-fed or even starving in the trenches, armed with defective weapons, and poorly led. As the war dragged on, Russia stood on the brink of disaster. Tsarism was completely discredited among the masses. The

reformist parties, though forced to press for an end to tsarism, advocated continuation with the imperialist war. Only the Bolsheviks voiced the demand for an end not only to tsarism, but also to the war itself, and the capitalist system which had bred it.

By the beginning of 1917 the Russian soldiers began to show which view they supported. In the absence of parliamentary elections, they 'voted with their feet', deserting the front in tens of thousands.

THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY 1917

The vast crisis erupted in the revolution of February 1917, which marked the end of the tsarist autocracy.

The chaos at the front, the partial breakdown in the country, the utter inability of the regime to cope with the rapidly developing crisis led to the most widespread dissatisfaction. The Tsar, Nicholas, and his wife were deeply under the influence of a charlatan religious fanatic, the monk Rasputin whose power was such that he could make or break Prime Ministers and Cabinets. All except extreme monarchists and members of the 'Black Hundreds' (the Russian fascist organisation) agreed on one thing—the Tsar must go.

On February 27th, 1917, amid universal rejoicing, the Tsar abdicated.

Everyone was agreed—the Tsar must go, and go he did. But, what next? On this there was no such general agreement.

Immediately, as in 1905, the masses began forming revolutionary Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, which had their central committee in Petrograd, and to a large extent commanded the loyalty of the people of the country. It was plain that the Soviets had many of the characteristics of a revolutionary government.

But at the same time, the right-wing socialists and bourgeois elements established their own organ of government—the Provisional Committee of the State Duma (a sort of Advisory Board without legislative powers, permitted by the Tsarist government from 1906 to 1917). This Committee was headed by a member of the Black Hundreds, Rodzyanko. But it also contained Mensheviks like Chkheidze and the Socialist-Revolutionary Kerensky.

Thus, for a while there was in effect a dual power in the capital, whose name had been changed from St. Petersburg to Petrograd; two rival governments, each with its own policy.

At the time of the February revolution a good deal of confusion prevailed. Most of the members of the Petrograd Soviet were not Bolsheviks but Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Therefore there were many crucial areas on which both the Soviet and the

Provisional Committee agreed, because these Parties were in favour of Russia taking the capitalist road of development, agreed with the idea of continuing to participate in the imperialist war, and opposed radical measures of land reform. The masses of workers and peasants, filled with joy at the overthrow of the Tsar, still had confidence in the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties, and in the right-wing socialists.

Therefore at first the Soviets supported the Provisional Government, and called on the workers to do the same. This was a betrayal of the revolution, a betrayal of the interests of the masses. For a while, they could get away with it. One of the main reasons for this was that the Bolshevik Party—though many of its members had played an outstanding role in the February revolution—was scattered and disorganised; many of its members had been conscripted into the army, or were in prison or in exile.

But things began rapidly to change.

In March, the Party newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) which had been suppressed by the Tsarist government, resumed publication.

The Bolshevik Central Committee came together to assess the situation after the fall of the Tsar. Lenin was in exile in Switzerland, and there was no way of his returning home immediately in the wartime conditions which still prevailed. Nevertheless he studied the situation closely and sent the C.C. detailed theses arguing that the bourgeois Provisional Government could not possibly satisfy the demands of the masses for peace, bread and land. He urged that the struggle should go on, the workers should establish Soviets everywhere, see that the masses were armed and win over the soldiers and peasants to the cause of socialism.

Through the secretary of the Swiss Socialist Party, negotiations were opened with the German ambassador to allow Lenin and other Russian revolutionaries to travel through Germany in a sealed train to return home (the British and French governments refused to allow them to pass through their countries). On April 3rd in the evening, after a long journey through Germany, Sweden and Finland, Lenin arrived at Petrograd. A vast gathering of workers and soldiers came to the station to meet him.

From then on events began rapidly to move towards their climax in October, the 'ten days that shook the world'.

In succeeding articles we shall survey the events of those ten days, and consider what effect the Great October Socialist Revolution has had on the subsequent course of human history.

TRADE UNION APARTHEID

R. E. BRAVERMAN

THE WORKING CLASS of South Africa is deeply divided on lines of race and colour. The basic division, of course, is that between the relatively privileged white workers on one side and the non-white—African, Coloured and Indian—workers, on the other. But the ruling classes have also played on differences among the non-whites, reserving different categories of employment for different nationalities, with the Africans almost invariably occupying the hardest and worst-paid jobs and the least security or rights. Even among the whites, cultural differences and competing national loyalties serve to keep Afrikaans- and English-speaking workers apart. The English and Afrikaans bourgeoisie have been able to exploit these differences with great success, bribing the privileged sections, above all the whites, at the expense of the great mass of African workers.

Although some South African trade unionists, including a minority among the whites, have struggled long and hard to overcome these cleavages, they have never succeeded. Disunited and splintered into competing groups, the labour movement has never been able to present a united front against the exploiters. Today, with nearly all the principled fighters for workers' unity and against apartheid victimised and driven out of the trade unions by fascist legislation such as the Suppression of Communism Act, the 'legal' trade union movement is at its lowest ebb.

Since its formation in March 1955, the one trade union co-ordinating body which consistently opposed the theory and practice of apartheid and the colour bar has been the *South African Congress of Trade Unions* (S.A.C.T.U.). In terms of its constitution, S.A.C.T.U. is open to unions, both registered and unregistered, without distinction of race or colour. If in practice it consisted mainly of African (and therefore 'unregistered') unions, together with a few registered unions mainly of Coloured and Indian members, this was not because of any barrier in the Constitution or policy, but because it never succeeded in securing the affiliation of the white workers' unions. S.A.C.T.U. laboured valiantly to organise

the masses of unorganised African workers: to secure a national minimum wage of 2 rands (£1) a day; to oppose the pass laws and other anti-African legislation and gain the trade union and citizenship rights denied to the great majority of the population. S.A.C.T.U. endorsed the revolutionary Freedom Charter, and formed part of the Congress Alliance around the African National Congress, the spearhead of resistance to white supremacy and apartheid.

During the past few years, the leaders and members of S.A.C.T.U. and its affiliated unions have been subjected to ferocious repression by the fascist government. Its national president, Steven Dhlamini, is in jail as a political prisoner, hundreds of senior officials and rank-and-filers of affiliated unions have been banned, imprisoned, detained under the notorious 90-day and 180-day laws, banished or driven into exile. On November 6, 1964, despite world wide protests, the dockers' leader, Vuyisile Mini and two other S.A.C.T.U. comrades, working men of Port Elizabeth, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakhele Mkaba, were hanged. Under such conditions it is clearly impossible for S.A.C.T.U. to function properly as a co-ordinating centre, a focus of organisation and trade union education. But its spirit remains alive among its fifty thousand members and countless supporters, its affiliated unions and their branches and factory committees, usually forced to resort to clandestine methods of meeting and organisation for the workers' needs.

There are four other trade union centres in South Africa, beside a number of unions not affiliated to any centre. The largest of these is the *Trade Union Council of South Africa* (T.U.C.S.A.), whose history and policy will be dealt with below. The *Koordinierende Raad van Vakunies* (Co-ordinating Council of Trade Unions) consists of Afrikaner trade unions which broke away from the former Trades and Labour Council in 1947, and established the *Raad* in 1948, the year when the Nationalist Party first assumed office in the Government. Consisting of the unions of white miners, building workers and iron and steel workers, it is fanatically racialist and openly supports the apartheid regime.

The *S.A. Federation of Trade Unions* (S.A.F.T.U.) consists of craft unions which broke away from the former T. and L.C. in 1950, demanding that that body enforce a colour bar in its constitution. Although as we shall see the T. and L.C. eventually complied with that demand in 1954, destroying itself in the process, the S.A.F.T.U. unions have remained in isolation. These unions traditionally opposed the entry of African and Coloured workers to the skilled trades. S.A.F.T.U. excludes affiliation of African unions. There are now no Coloured unions affiliated, but even when there were some, the S.A.F.T.U. executive was an all-white one.

The *Federal Consultative Council of S.A. Railways and Harbours Staff Associations* is virtually a state 'company union'. The railways and harbours are state-owned, and the Nationalist government has blatantly used this opportunity to favour its supporters in these, as in all state undertakings and the civil service. The Staff Associations of white employees have not resisted this process, but they have exploited their position as public servants to enforce a strict colour bar in all jobs other than unskilled labour. These Associations have never held out a helping hand in the many efforts over the years of their fellow-workers to form a non-European railway workers union; rather they have acted as police to help the government to suppress trade unionism among the African and other non-white railwaymen.

T.U.C.S.A.—A Sorry End

T.U.C.S.A., under its present leadership, is a sorry end-product of the once flourishing trade union movement founded, mainly, by emigrant artisans at the end of the nineteenth century, which wrote many stirring chapters in the history of the international labour movement. The Witwatersrand miners and Kimberley diggers, the railway and other transport men, the engineers, printers, and other pioneers of the labour movement, headed by such stalwarts as Bill Andrews, conducted many heroic, and sometimes bloody, fights against the employing class, fights which are little cherished or even remembered by their successors of today. But that movement always contained the germs of the cancerous racialism which—apart from the valiant spirits of S.A.C.T.U.—have now virtually destroyed it as a living trade union body, and made it the tool of the most reactionary regime in Africa, indeed, one of the worst, most anti-labour regimes in the world.

In 1954 the old Trades and Labour Council was dissolved by a majority vote. For a quarter of a century it had been the only national co-ordinating body in the country with a claim to represent all sections of the working class. Thanks to the influence of the Communist and other Left and genuine trade unionists, its constitution contained no formal colour bar. Its conferences repeatedly passed resolutions demanding the amendment of the Industrial Conciliation Act to permit African unions to become registered, and thus recognised. But in practice, due to right-wing domination of the big unions, little was done to compel the implementation of such resolutions, or to organise the rightless African workers to assert their trade union and other rights. No non-white ever found a seat in the upper councils of the T. and L.C. After the accession of the Malan government (1948) and the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act, the first full-scale drive was launched against the trade unions. Hundreds of Communist

and other Leftist trade union leaders were proscribed and hounded out of the movement by the government. New laws were introduced to enforce compulsory segregation in the unions, and job reservation for racial categories in employment.

Instead of resisting these onslaughts a considerable section of the trade union leadership (already much weakened by bannings and proscriptions) embarked on a policy of retreat and appeasement of racialism. Some of the right-wing unions demanded the T. and L.C. introduce a colour bar by banning African workers outright, and when this demand was not met they disaffiliated—as we have seen above—to form such bodies as the *Raad* and S.A.F.T.U. The T. and L.C. leadership, by and large, failed to protest against the bannings; failed to mobilise and educate the workers for a struggle for hard won rights and for trade union unity. In 1954 they capitulated altogether and proposed to dissolve the T. and L.C. so that it could be replaced by a new body which would formally ban African participation in its constitution. This move was bitterly resisted by a number of genuine trade unionists as radically opposed to the entire spirit and meaning of the labour movement. Leaders of the textile, food and canning, laundry and other unions fought to the bitter end at a T. and L.C. special conference called to bury that organisation. But the big battalions, backed by opportunists from the garment and other unions which once claimed to be militant, won the day. The T. and L.C. was dissolved. The new body (without the genuine unions, who united with African unions to form S.A.C.T.U.) was duly set up, in October 1954.

Such were the beginnings of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (T.U.C.S.A.). Its constitution specifically confined membership to 'registered' unions. And, of course, since Africans can neither join registered unions nor gain registration for their own, separate, unions, T.U.C.S.A.'s constitution conformed to the government's policy of enforcing a colour bar against Africans.

But this blatant colour discrimination of the T.U.C.S.A. leaders began running them into more and more trouble in a field in which they are particularly sensitive, that of international relations with such bodies as the British T.U.C., the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Labour Office (I.L.O.). T.U.C.S.A.'s prestige was seriously damaged when the credentials of their representative at an I.L.O. conference were successfully challenged by S.A.C.T.U., on the grounds that the organisation, excluding Africans, was not truly representative of the workers of the country.

I.C.F.T.U. Intervention

They were further embarrassed by the activities of an I.C.F.T.U. delegation which visited South Africa and interviewed both T.U.C.S.A. and

S.A.C.T.U. representatives. The I.C.F.T.U. spokesman, following the usual practice of this body to meddle in internal African trade union affairs, told S.A.C.T.U. to break its connections with the Congress alliance and the World Federation of Trade Unions; when this insolent demand met with the rebuff it deserved he branded S.A.C.T.U. as 'Communist' (a criminal 'offence' in South Africa) and refused any support for the campaign to organise African workers. But T.U.C.S.A. did not fare much better. True, they convinced the I.C.F.T.U. beyond doubt that they were sufficiently 'anti-Communist'. But they were told that they could not affiliate, since their colour-bar constitution would be an embarrassment to Tom Mboya and other I.C.F.T.U. contacts in Africa. Therefore the T.U.C.S.A. leadership contacted a small group of dissident African trade unionists, supporters of the Pan-Africanist Congress, who had the dual advantage both of being black and vehemently anti-Communist. Acting in collusion with the I.C.F.T.U., and with its financial backing, they got them to set up yet another organisation—the Federation of Free Trade Unions of South Africa (F.O.F.A.T.U.S.A.) with the object of 'capturing' S.A.C.T.U.'s African unions. At the same time the T.U.C.S.A. leaders decided to amend their constitution.

Thus it came about that at its 8th annual conference in March 1962 in East London, T.U.C.S.A. made a significant change in policy. It revised the constitution to open its door to all 'bona fide' trade unions. Unfortunately one cannot ascribe this development to a genuine change of heart and a recognition that the betrayal of 1954 had been a tragic blunder. The T.U.C.S.A. leaders explained that by co-operating with F.O.F.A.T.U.S.A. and building 'tame' unions for African workers they would be able to win members away from S.A.C.T.U.—then as now under heavy fire from the government—with its militant policies. 'We will put S.A.C.T.U. out of business,' they boasted. Secondly, the racialist element who objected to the lifting of the colour-bar, were told that unless this were done it would be impossible for T.U.C.S.A. to attend international conferences and there answer overseas critics of apartheid. T.U.C.S.A. representatives who had attended I.L.O. and other international conferences pleaded with the delegates to accept the changed constitution. 'They could not expect recognition abroad', delegates were told, 'unless they took in African trade unions'.

The constitution was amended. The P.A.C.-orientated F.O.F.A.T.U.S.A. was admitted to association with the T.U.C.S.A.—in fact accepting a policy of subordination to the white supremacists who administer T.U.C.S.A. and shape its policies. But having done this job, the F.O.F.A.T.U.S.A. leaders dissolved the organisation in 1966, urging its unions to affiliate to T.U.C.S.A. As a result of these manoeuvres,

T.U.C.S.A. now has several affiliated African unions, of workers in the baking, brewing, chemical, clothing, glass, leather, sweet, tobacco and box-making trades. Needless to say, these unions have no effective voice in policy-making and are not represented in T.U.C.S.A.'s leadership.

If African workers had their say, they would certainly not agree with the main strands of T.U.C.S.A. policy. Abroad, T.U.C.S.A. concentrates on undermining the international solidarity actions with the oppressed non-whites, organised by the labour movement and democratic public opinion. At home, in company with the government and other right-wing elements, it campaigns against the so-called menace of 'Communism', ignoring the real danger of fascism which is rampant and in the saddle in South Africa.

T.U.C.S.A. vigorously opposes calls for international sanctions and boycotts against the apartheid regime, initiated by U.N., the African countries, the W.F.T.U. and even by the I.C.F.T.U. Its propagandists argue that these calls are inspired by 'communists', that they will harm the interests of the non-white workers and put them out of work. They say that such sanctions will harm the economies of the 'Western bloc'. In other words, T.U.C.S.A. leadership is firmly opposed either to international action to help end apartheid or to mass struggle inside South Africa to end white supremacy.

In 1964 the I.L.O.'s general conference condemned the 'degrading, criminal and inhuman racial policies' of South Africa as being a 'violation of fundamental human rights and thus incompatible with the aims and purposes of the I.L.O.' It called on the governments, employers and workers of all states to combine in appropriate action to 'lead the Republic of South Africa to heed the call of humanity and renounce its shameful policy of apartheid'.

T.U.C.S.A. to the Rescue

T.U.C.S.A. came to the rescue of the South African government. It published a pamphlet in January 1965, rejecting the I.L.O.'s criticism. It appealed to the 'trade union movement of the western world' to abandon all forms of boycotts, sanctions and 'politically-inspired' expulsions from international organisations. It condemned the British T.U.C., the American A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the Australian Council of Trade Unions for supporting the boycott of South African goods. It defended government policies by claiming that Africans in the Republic have the 'highest standard of living' on the Continent—using statistics from government propaganda sheets for this purpose. It claims that 'more and more of them are earning £1 a day in a country where the cost of living is one of the lowest in the world'.

It is astonishing to hear that an alleged trade union body should be claiming that living costs are low, or that it considers £1 a day is an adequate wage. One may be sure that the privileged white workers who make up the bulk of T.U.C.S.A. membership would not be satisfied with even £2 a day. It was not T.U.C.S.A. but S.A.C.T.U. which campaigned and fought vigorously from 1957 onwards for a national minimum wage of £1 a day—a campaign in which S.A.C.T.U. got no help from T.U.C.S.A. The truth of the matter is that the vast majority of African workers are getting far below £1 a day. T.U.C.S.A. cannot claim ignorance of these facts. It is well known in South Africa, indeed all over the world, that the wages of the African workers are insufficient to meet their essential needs. The Johannesburg *Star* (January 20th, 1967) reported that twenty-eight African quarry workers were convicted and fined R50 (£25) each for taking part in a 'go-slow' strike in support of their demand for higher wages. The court case revealed that they were being paid £2 15s. per week, and the Labour Department official in his evidence said that 'this was actually in excess of the legal minimum of £2 per week'.

In its propaganda for overseas consumption T.U.C.S.A. does not only distort the reality of economic conditions in South Africa. It completely ignores the fascist nature of the regime. It makes no mention of the vicious pass laws, the expulsion of Africans from urban areas, the breaking up of homes in African townships, the suppression of the African's national liberation movement, the 10,000 political prisoners, the execution by hanging of political and trade union leaders, the denial of elementary rights of political representation, organisation, residence, movement, employment. Nothing is said about the attacks on the trade union movement, or the denial to Africans of the right to organise trade unions and negotiate collectively with their employers.

This silence on these matters may seem less surprising when we remember that T.U.C.S.A. never protested against these abominable anti-trade union actions in South Africa, that it never raised its voice in protest against innumerable discriminatory and oppressive laws and measures introduced by the fascist government.

Thus T.U.C.S.A. which began its existence by surrendering the basic principle of working class unity, has step by step moved into the position of apologist and propagandist for the bloodstained Vorster regime. The T.U.C.S.A. leadership stood by while scores and hundreds of fellow-trade unionists were being victimised, jailed, tortured and hanged for standing up for trade union principles. They bought immunity from persecution by sucking up to the government and playing its game. But in the process they have allowed the trade unions of the privileged workers to be thoroughly tamed and drained of class

consciousness, militancy and ability to resist. Today they are only tolerated by the fascist regime and permitted to operate so long as they can be of service to it. They serve it, internally by fighting S.A.C.T.U. in the name of anti-Communism and spreading the corrosive virus of anti-Communism among the working people. Externally these poodles of the neo-Nazi government and the boss class do an invaluable service too, one they cannot do for themselves.

In the outside world, particularly within the labour movement, the whole concept of apartheid and white baasskap is hated and condemned, and properly so too. If an open representative of the South African regime attempted to address himself directly to labour and democratic circles abroad, he would receive short shrift. But T.U.C.S.A., posing as champions of 'non-racial trade unions' and boasting of their affiliated African unions, have access to trade union centres abroad that close their doors to the avowed adherents of apartheid such as the *Ko-ordineerende Raad*, the S.A.F.T.U. or the railway Staff Associations.

T.U.C.S.A. has in fact become an arm of the South African Government Information Service and of the South African Foundation—a body established by the millionaire capitalists of the country in 1961 to counter the international anti-apartheid movement, oppose world boycotts and sanctions, and canvass for trade and investments in South Africa. Though the Foundation consists of capitalists and T.U.C.S.A. of white workers, both are intent on the same job of weakening the struggle against apartheid and defending the structure of white supremacy. While the Foundation sends lecturers and salesmen to meet business circles, T.U.C.S.A. sends its officials and 'research officers' to tour the United States, West Germany, Switzerland and Belgium, meeting trade unions and urging them to 'understand the special South African position' and 'not to isolate South Africa'.

In the Enemy Camp

In its fierce attack on the trade union and national liberation movements, the South African government relies heavily on the hysterical 'anti-communist' campaign it took over from the Hitlerites. Thousands of trade unionists and others have been banned and victimised under the 'Suppression of Communism Act', a law directed against not only Communists but also non-Communist militants, socialists and democrats. By its servile and eager support of this anti-Communist racket, the T.U.C.S.A. leaders have sunk to the lowest levels of political deception and renegacy.

According to its amended constitution T.U.C.S.A. is dedicated 'to vigorously opposing Communism in all its forms'. In a series of study

classes it ran in 1965, the first lectures were devoted to 'discuss and expose the role of Communism in South Africa and the world'.

Recently T.U.C.S.A. issued an expensively-produced brochure attacking 'Communism'. Since it is published in English and French only (the latter language is not spoken in South Africa) it is apparently intended for overseas distribution. In this brochure T.U.C.S.A. claims 'to stand in the forefront of the fight against Communism'. (Not, be it noted in the forefront of the fight against poverty and racialism!) It maintains that the workers are worse off under communism than under 'enlightened capitalism'. T.U.C.S.A., it declares is 'four square in the camp of the International Free Trade Union Movement'.

T.U.C.S.A. asks the fascist government to 'recognise' African trade unions—not because that is the elementary right of the African workers, but in order to save them from 'Communism'. It adds that in the past some African unions have 'fallen under Communist leadership'—thus not only condoning the government's banning, torturing and detention of African union leaders, but also encouraging further atrocities of this sort. If some African unionists have elected Communist fellow-workers to leading positions this is hardly surprising in view of the fact the Communists pioneered trade unionism among the low paid and oppressed African workers, fought and sacrificed for full equality for African workers, and continue to do so today despite the combined opposition of the government, the employers and the white-supremacists of T.U.C.S.A.

T.U.C.S.A.'s anti-Communist campaign is inspired not only by the Vorster government, but also by the C.I.A.-directed and subsidised strategy of the Meany leadership of the American A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the I.C.F.T.U., a strategy directed against the national liberatory and socialist forces the world over. The T.U.C.S.A. renegades thus align themselves in the camp of the enemies of trade unionism—from the battlefields and villages of Vietnam to the brutal racism and fascism of South Africa, for which they bear a full share of responsibility.

Enough has been said to make it clear that T.U.S.C.A.'s leaders have abandoned whatever claim they may have had to speak for the masses of South Africa's workers. By their cowardly pandering to apartheid and racialism, they have betrayed the principles of the labour and trade union movement. But those noble principles have been proudly upheld by others, by those who have braved house arrest and detention, banishment, life imprisonment and even death, in their struggle to win a better life, equality of rights and opportunities for all, human dignity and brotherhood, in a free South Africa.

There are several conclusions which may be drawn from this brief survey of apartheid in the present day South African trade union

movement. Perhaps the first is that to pander to racialism spells death for the labour movement, and is diametrically opposed to its very existence. The South African Labour Party was once a quite strong organisation, with a number of members of parliament and even cabinet ministers, members in provincial councils and even a majority and a Labour mayor in the city council of Johannesburg, by far the biggest city in the country. But because it admitted and appeased racialism and colour prejudice the Labour Party today is as dead as the dodo. The Trade Union Council of South Africa will suffer a similar fate. Today it has allowed itself to become completely dependent on the toleration and goodwill of a government and a political party which is utterly inimical to the very idea of trade unionism, even in the debased and residual form of the T.U.C.S.A. Once they can no longer serve a useful purpose, the fascists are likely to dump them overboard with little compunction. They will soon be forgotten.

But, on the contrary, the brave working men and women who braved dungeon and gallows and who kept aloft the banner of true trade unionism, the banner of S.A.C.T.U., will never be forgotten. S.A.C.T.U. will survive every blow and its members will play a leading part in rebuilding the free South Africa that will arise following the inevitable overthrow and collapse of the hateful structure of white supremacy.

In the meantime, T.U.C.S.A. should be seen for what it is. Neither trade unionists abroad nor African workers in South Africa should have any truck with it.

AFRICA

Notes on Current Events

by SOL DUBULA

Banda—Traitor to Africa!

DR. BANDA, THE Malawi President, is doing everything to qualify for Tshombe's role as the most hated man in Africa.

There was a time when Banda took every opportunity to present himself as a relentless foe of White supremacy. He made wild and demagogic speeches castigating the crimes of the Whites in Africa. He combined this with snide remarks against other African leaders whom he regarded as 'moderate' or 'soft' on the White rulers. Many experienced politicians detected an opportunist tendency in Banda's ultra revolutionary declamations.

First cautiously and then more boldly Dr. Banda revealed his true colours. He entered into relations with Salazar and Portugal. Subsequently he refused to join in the condemnation of the illegal regime of Ian Smith which has gaoled many leaders whom he was fond of criticising in Zimbabwe. Now he has committed the cardinal sin of establishing economic and other relations with the government that hates African independence and progress most—the Republic of South Africa under Vorster. By sending three ministers to the Republic to sign a trade agreement Banda has defied the resolutions of the O.A.U. and the United Nations which Malawi is obliged to honour. Like a thief caught in the act Banda has compounded his crime by making speeches insulting to the African states and to the peoples of Africa. He says 'South Africa is there to stay'.

A number of African leaders in Southern Africa of whom Banda is the most notorious seem to have forgotten that the majority of the

people in South Africa are totally opposed to the apartheid regime and are pledged to destroy it by revolutionary means. It is these people—the oppressed and voteless people of South Africa whose interests are paramount. The future destiny of the country lies in their hands. They are South Africa.

The freedom-loving peoples of South Africa are viewing the activities of their brothers and sisters in the neighbouring independent states with close attention. With thousands of their people in the gaols of South Africa they cannot but wonder at the policies some of the neighbouring independent states are following.

Admittedly some of these states are under serious economic pressure from the reactionaries in the Republic of South Africa. An expensive 'new look' foreign policy has been launched by South Africa to woo these states and to transform them into neo-colonies. As part of this policy flattery and bribery of prominent personalities in African states is being pursued. Within South Africa itself African ministers from independent states are treated to the red carpet and housed in hotels reserved for Whites Only. So-called relaxations have been announced in the rigid racial laws relating to sports outside South Africa. Vorster the fascist hangman is portrayed in the White press as an amiable golfer.

The people of South Africa have experienced similar gestures before. Every new attack on the rights of the majority has been accompanied by a flourish of trumpets and fanfare by the White supremacists and their supporters. The present noisy activity on the internal and foreign fields are a stratagem to defend White supremacy from the challenge posed by the emergence of African states and the growth of the guerilla movement in Southern Africa . . . in Mozambique, Angola, South-West Africa, Zimbabwe and in South Africa itself.

Banda and other African leaders like him may be prepared to sell out millions of people for the sake of the privilege of staying in 'whites only' hotels in South Africa. But the question they should ask themselves is what relations will exist between their countries and a future Democratic People's Republic of South Africa.

On June 26th, 1959, the African National Congress passed a resolution in Durban calling for the launching of an international campaign for the boycott of South Africa. That campaign has grown until it embraces numerous aspects in the military, economic, diplomatic, social and cultural fields. A great solidarity movement in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa exists in the world. Whilst recognising that in the final analysis the apartheid regime will be overthrown by themselves, the South African oppressed peoples greatly appreciate international solidarity and will never forget the peoples

of the world for their support. It is the South African people themselves who called for the isolation of the hated racialist regime in South Africa. Organisations and states outside South Africa are merely carrying out the wish of the African and other oppressed people in the Republic itself. As the South African racists now try to escape from the consequences of the boycott campaign, pressure on them should be increased still further. To do otherwise is to help the White minority government to oppress all Africans in South Africa and elsewhere.

Lesotho after the Coup

ON DECEMBER 27th last year the police in Lesotho under the direct orders of the government shot at and killed innocent people attending a meeting called by the Head of State, Moshoeshoe II.

Following the massacre Premier Leabua Jonathan ordered the arrest of 167 people, deported several others including practically every lawyer practising in the country; and placed the King himself under house-arrest.

With his fingers virtually dripping with the blood of innocent Basotho, Leabua Jonathan proceeded to Capetown where he paid his respects to the notorious fascist Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa—B. J. Vorster.

Many people have wondered as to what the background to the coup in Lesotho was. Those who sought enlightenment from the press in South Africa or in the imperialist countries were doomed to disappointment. With infinite skill the mass media of the imperialists clouded the issues in Lesotho in talk about an alleged 'constitutional conflict' between the Head of State, Moshoeshoe II and Premier Leabua Jonathan.

It is true that the problem could be described in part as 'constitutional'. But this was simply because any differences of policy involving the Head of State affect the distribution of power in the state as enshrined in the constitution. In fact the basic issue was over control over the land of Lesotho including its water and mineral resources. Leabua resents the traditional system of land tenure which gives the Head of State final say in the allocation of any rights in the land. The South African financial and other interests who would like to lay hands on the resources of Lesotho were insisting that the power of the King over land was an obstacle to investment and capital development of the country. These interests were demanding the introduction of the system of private freehold land-holding in Lesotho in certain areas of the country at least.

In addition to the land issue, however, there were others of vital importance.

Before independence steps had already been taken to ensure that Basotho would fill all important posts in the administration. Leabua Jonathan's government which does not trust the Lesotho civil service has taken steps to undo all the preparations made by dismissing or transferring senior officials who were suspect in the eyes of the government. This has caused widespread dissatisfaction as it meant not only retention of the old White officials but also the importation of many others from the Republic of South Africa.

Although it was expected that Lesotho by reason of its position as an enclave in the middle of South Africa would have to maintain some relations with the apartheid regime, the shameful actions of the Leabua government have been a humiliation to the proud Basotho nation which has never bowed its knee to an invader. In every important aspects of foreign policy Leabua has followed the diktat of the Republic of South Africa to the letter. No diplomatic relations have been established with any states which are anathema to the South African authorities. Even the African states have not been encouraged to establish embassies in Lesotho. Although Lesotho is a member of the O.A.U., the Commonwealth and the United Nations, government ministers regularly hurl criticisms at these organisations with scant regard for their decisions and opinions. The language used by these Lesotho Ministers follows very closely that of their South African masters.

Naturally all this goes against the interests of the vast majority of the people in Lesotho who are totally opposed to the policy of Leabua Jonathan. Represented by the Congress Party, the Marematlou Freedom Party and other opposition groups including the Communist Party of Lesotho, the people gathered at huge mass meetings to condemn the turning of Lesotho into a client state of South Africa. It is with this background that Leabua Jonathan backed by his South African mentors decided to strike against all opposition in the country. The meeting of December 27th, 1965 at the sacred shrine of Thaba Bosiu seemed a favourable opportunity.

At the trials of government opponents held recently all accused except eight have already been acquitted and freed. The remaining eight who include Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Congress Party, and Dr. Seth Makotoko, leader of the Marematlou Freedom Party, are still facing an artificially prolonged and farcical trial whose aim is to ruin the opposition parties financially.

At the first session of parliament held since the coup the government has introduced a Bill to change the system of land tenure to provide for private freehold holdings. The system of taxation is to be altered so as to drastically increase the taxation of the people. Both these

measures will result in a tremendous increase in the number of Basotho forced to go to the South African mines to seek work. And last but not least a government delegation from South Africa has been to Maseru to discuss plans for the financing, building and control of the great Ox-Bow hydro-electric project.

It is said that the clue to the identity of a murderer can sometimes be found in the question 'who benefits?'. The measures recently introduced in the Lesotho Parliament give more than a clue as to the real reason why Leabua Jonathan sent police to go and kill innocent Basotho at Thaba Bosiu in December last year. There is no doubt that the people of Lesotho will one day exact full retribution for these crimes against the people by Leabua Jonathan and his confederates.

Nigeria—the Crisis Deepens

THE RECENT MOVES in Eastern Nigeria by its military Governor Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu marks a further important stage in Nigeria's growing crisis. The latest Eastern Nigerian edict requires the payment to the Eastern Nigerian treasury of all revenues collected in the region which in the past had been paid to the Federal Government.

Among the reasons advanced by Eastern Nigeria for this move is that the Federal military authorities had betrayed its undertakings under the Aburi (Ghana) agreements to pay the salaries of refugee civil servants up to May 31st, 1967. The Eastern Region also, so it is claimed, needs the revenue to 'cater for and rehabilitate' the 1,800,000 people who were displaced from other parts of Nigeria by various means including violence of appalling proportions.

Another decree of an even more radical character vests in the Eastern Region all important Federal installations within its borders including ports, railways, post and bodies connected with broadcasting, coal, shipping and marketing. At the same time Colonel Ojukwu has made it clear that while the region would not take any steps to secede, this final resort might be forced on it if the Federal Government attacked the Region and this included an economic blockade. The counter measures taken by the Federal authorities including the suspension of certain air services has evoked the statement from Colonel Ojukwu that 'We are close to the limit of our tolerance . . . the grip around our throats is almost complete'.

It is difficult to forecast with any degree of confidence what the precise outcome of the conflict will be. One thing is clear and that is that the popular enthusiasm which greeted the events of January 15th, 1966, when the corrupt Federal Government was toppled by the military, created the hope that at last this most populous and potentially

rich African state would be set on the road to real progress and independence. Instead, most of the young leaders of the first coup are still behind prison bars and political expression by the mass of the ordinary people has throughout the country been muzzled.

As the Nigerian workers' leader Dr. Tunzi Otegbeye said in reference to the failures of the Ironsi regime (toppled in July 1966) 'Instead of summoning meetings of workers, peasants, market women, progressive intellectuals and patriotic businessmen the military regime summoned meetings of Emirs, Obis, Abas and Chiefs as if this class could speak for the Nigerian people'. These groups were allowed to meet in the open 'while the major organs of expression of the people were suppressed'. Despite this the Ironsi regime was in some measure influenced by the spirit behind the events of January 15th, 1966, and some attempt was made to introduce economic measures which showed promise of progress. 'But', said Dr. Otegbeye, 'a programme which is national in outlook and democratic in form will need a new alignment of ruling classes to put it into force. This new alliance must of necessity be anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. Compromising with reactionary forces to work a progressive economic programme is doomed to failure.'

These words ring true. So long as the fate of the Nigerian people is being juggled about by élite groups and their advisers, so long will the chaos become more profound. Those who thought that the indiscriminate prohibition of all political groupings would create a power vacuum which would make it possible to lay the basis for change, have paid very dearly for their mistake. The laws relating to social development—like the laws of nature—abhor a vacuum. Where the people are barred from asserting themselves, then it is those elements who thrive on backdoor conspiracy and manipulation that come into their own.

The horror of the massacres in the North is still fresh in our memory. No doubt future historians will be able to fully document the view that the killings were not completely spontaneous events and that they suited very well the purposes of those who fear a real united Nigeria with a forward-looking social and economic policy. Despite the scars which the massacres have left, there can be no doubt that if the mass enthusiasm spirit which the January 15th coup evoked were to be allowed free rein, a real beginning could be made to the building of a truly democratic Nigeria.

Sierra Leone—Once Again the Rifle Rules

THE APPOINTMENT OF Mr. Siaka Stevens, the leader of the All-People's Congress (A.P.C.) as Prime Minister following the March 17th election in Sierra Leone was the signal for a series of events which led to the

military take-over. On March 23rd the 'National Reformation Council' consisting of senior army and police officers suspended the constitution, dissolved all political parties and prohibited all political activities. It proceeded to take over the functions of the Governor General, Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and Legislature. This move brought to an end the fifteen-year rule of the Sierra Leone People's Party (S.L.P.P.) led by Sir Albert Margai and followed the sweeping gains made in the election by the opposition All-People's Congress (A.P.C.) led by former miners' leader Mr. Siaka Stevens.

Somali Coast—A French-Manipulated Referendum

OFFICIAL FRANCE WAS jubilant. The unpleasant welcome accorded to General de Gaulle on his last visit to Djibouti was, so it is now claimed, the expression of a minority. The announced results of the Referendum held on March 19th showed that 60.5 per cent of the electors voted for continued association with France under an amended constitution. The reaction of the French Minister of Overseas Territories, M. Pierre Billotte, unwittingly sounded like one of those pompous orations which military gentlemen make to a routed enemy. 'Let them forget their quarrels and let them remember only that they are French. . . . In the eyes of France, there is, in French unity, neither conqueror nor conquered. . . . It is a victory of good sense.'

In truth, it is a victory of diabolical manipulation and electoral fraud. A few days before the Referendum a White Paper issued by the Somali government pointed to the fact that the choice offered to the territory was prejudicial to a fair and reasonable outcome because the French Government had threatened that in the event of the majority voting *Non*, all economic and technical assistance would be withdrawn from the territory immediately. In addition the French authorities had refused to register about 5,000 residents of Djibouti, all of whom had residential qualifications. This figure of 5,000, plus another 3,000 Africans in the Djibouti area who had come of age since the last election and who were also refused registration, is of enormous significance when one has regard to the fact that the whole electoral roll consists of 39,024 voters.

In Djibouti itself, French troops and Legionaires opened fire on people demonstrating against the announced Referendum results. Many were killed and wounded. The President of the People's Movement Party (P.M.P.), M. Mousa Idris and twelve members of the Territorial Assembly were arrested. Thousands of people of Somali origin were rounded up by police and troops and are being held in deportation camps. The French had been adamant in their refusal to allow a United

Nations team to act as observers of the Referendum which has since been described by Mogadishu Radio as 'the biggest fraud ever perpetrated against democracy'.

Even the respectable *Le Monde* wrote on March 21st, that during the Referendum 'without it being necessary to defraud openly here and there the climate of tension had become so intense and the pressures exerted . . . by majorities over minorities were so powerful, that the latter could not express themselves properly'. And the *New York Times* described the Referendum as 'confused, messy and in the end bloody, with familiar displays of brutality by the French Legion'.

The very formation of the question in the Referendum amounted to a form of blackmail with the French threatening to do what the Belgians had done in the Congo, that is, to leave the Somali coast in a state of chaos. This tactic was not new to the French—it was tried unsuccessfully when Guinea voted to break its association with France in the late fifties.

L'Humanité described the Referendum as 'a monstrous falsification' and pointed out that the consequences of the Djibouti drama risked being tragic far beyond the limits of French Somaliland. Some pertinent comments were also made by the *Tanzanian Nationalist* when it made the point that it was inconceivable in Africa today that a people could choose colonialism as against freedom and independence. It also referred to the fact that some 18,000 Somali women and 8,500 men qualified to vote were deliberately denied this right. 'Under such an atmosphere of total intimidation and a completely unchecked free hand of France to do any manipulations, could the people of Djibouti, particularly those in the rural areas who were denied even contact with their political leaders, have made a claim for independence?'

Zambia—A One-Party State?

PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAS spoken of the possibility that Zambia may in the future move towards the setting up of a One-Party State. But this, he says, is dependent on a number of factors including the most important, which is the expression of the will of the electorate. He stated further that such a position could be brought about only through the polls and not through legislation. The whole question will apparently be considered more carefully after the next election. If it resulted in a victory for U.N.I.P., then, said President Kaunda, 'we will be able to have a One-Party State with a very happy and clear conscience'.

Botswana—Meat Strike

BOTSWANA'S MAIN INDUSTRY—meat processing—was brought to a standstill by a strike by 950 workers at the Botswana Commission's

slaughterhouse at Lobatsi. The immediate cause of the strike was announced to be the workers' opposition to tax deductions from monthly pay packets.

Unliberated Areas—Guerilla Activity

IN ADDITION TO the open armed conflict in Mozambique and Angola, there is increasing evidence that the other liberation movements of Southern Africa are pressing ahead with their announced plans of armed confrontation with the racialist autocracy. In Botswana it has been announced that Botswana police have encountered a group of armed guerillas in swamps near Seronga, along the Caprivi Strip border. The guerillas, according to the report, evaded the Botswana patrol, but in the process left behind some of its equipment, including Brenn guns, carbines, rounds of ammunition and food and medical supplies.

In South-West Africa, according to a report from Radio Salisbury on March 26th, the police were hunting for a group of ten terrorists who had entered the territory after a brush with a Botswana police patrol.

Meanwhile, in the Portuguese territories, the people's armies are monthly stepping up their military engagements and the drain on the Portuguese Government in both men and material is growing at an enormous rate. African military expenses account today for more than 40 per cent of the Portuguese budget. Portugal admits to having suffered 200 soldiers killed in Portuguese Guinea alone in 1966. In this small territory, most of which is now under the control of the liberation forces, Portugal maintains 22,000 troops at the cost of more than £10 million a year.

F.L.I.N.G. (the Front for National Independence of Guinea—Bissao) published a communiqué in which it claims that in 1966 its guerilla forces had killed 554 Portuguese soldiers and wounded 319. The seriousness with which Portugal regards the Guinea situation is demonstrated by Dr. Salazar's recent decision to send his Defence Minister to the territory to reassess the whole situation.

Company Profits

BRITISH-AMERICAN TOBACCO with three associated companies in West Africa (Ghana, Sierra Leone and Nigeria) announced increased profits from Africa as well as from other areas. Profits rose from £82,005,000 (1964/65) to £91,625,000 (1966/67).

SOCIALISM IS NOT RACIALISM

President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION and the actions relating to public ownership which we took last week were all concerned with ensuring that we can build socialism in our country. The nationalisation and the taking of a controlling interest in many firms was a necessary part of our determination to organise our society in such a way that our efforts benefit all our people and that there is no exploitation of one man by another.

Yet these actions do not in themselves create socialism. They are necessary to it, but as the Arusha Declaration states, they could also be the basis for fascism—in other words, for the oppressive extreme of capitalism. For the words with which I began my pamphlet *Ujamaa* in 1962 remain valid; socialism is an attitude of mind. The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is human equality.

Acceptance of this principle is absolutely fundamental to socialism. The justification of socialism is Man; not the State, not the flag. Socialism is not for the benefit of black men, nor brown men, nor white men, nor yellow men. The purpose of socialism is the service of man, regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability, or anything else. And the economic institutions of socialism, such as those we are now creating in accordance with the Arusha Declaration, are intended to serve man in our society. Where the majority of the people in a particular society are black, then most of those who benefit from socialism there will be black. But this has nothing to do with their blackness; only with their humanity.

Some years ago I made the point that fascism and racialism can go together, but socialism and racialism are incompatible. The reason is

easy to see. Fascism is the highest and most ruthless form of the exploitation of man by man; it is made possible by deliberate efforts to divide mankind and set one group of men against another group.

In Nazi Germany the majority were incited to join in hostile actions against the Jews—who were a minority religious and ethnic group living among them. 'I hate Jews' became the basis of life for supporters of the Nazi Government.

But the man or woman who hates 'Jews', or 'Asians', or 'Europeans', or even 'West Europeans and Americans' is not a Socialist. He is trying to divide mankind into groups and is judging men according to the skin colour and shape they were given by God. Or he is dividing men according to national boundaries. In either case he is denying the equality and brotherhood of man.

Without an acceptance of human equality there can be no socialism. This is true however 'socialist' the institutions may be. Thus it was that when Nazi Germany organised the Krupp group of industries no socialist could rejoice; for it simply meant that the fascist state was more highly organised than ever. Nor do socialists welcome the news that South Africa has established an oil trading and refining company in which the State owns a controlling interest. We know that this simply makes that fascist state more efficient in its oppression and more able to defend itself against attack.

We in Tanzania have to hold fast to this lesson, especially now as we advance on the socialist road. For it is true that because of our colonial history the vast majority of the capitalist organisations in this country are owned and run by Asians or by Western Europeans. Twenty years ago we could have said all the capitalists in this country were from those areas; we cannot say this now. For the truth is that capitalism and capitalist attitudes have nothing whatsoever to do with the race or national origin of those who believe in them or practise them. Indeed, nobody who was at Arusha needs any more proof that the temptations of capitalism ignore colour boundaries. Even leaders of T.A.N.U. were getting deeply involved in the practices of capitalism and landlordism. A few had started talking of 'my Company'. And very many others would have done so if they could; they were capitalists by desire even when they could not be so in practice. Hence the resolution on leadership. Hence the difficulties we must expect in enforcing this resolution.

Socialism has nothing to do with race, nor with country of origin. In fact any intelligent man, whether he is a socialist or not, realises that there are socialists in capitalist countries—and from capitalist countries. Very often such socialists come to work in newly independent and avowedly socialist countries like Tanzania, because they are frustrated in their capitalist homeland. Neither is any intelligent man

blind to the fact that there are frustrated capitalists in the communist countries—just as there will in time be frustrated capitalists in Tanzania. It may even be that some of those frustrated capitalists from Eastern countries come to work with us.

Neither is it sensible for a socialist to talk as if all capitalists are devils. It is one thing to dislike the capitalist system, and to try and frustrate people's capitalist desires. But it would be as stupid for us to assume that capitalists have horns as it is for people in Western Europe to assume that we in Tanzania have become devils.

In fact the leaders in the capitalist countries have now begun to realise that Communists are human beings like themselves—that they are not devils. One day they will realise that this includes the Chinese Communists! It would be very absurd if we react to the stupidity they are growing out of, and become equally stupid ourselves in the opposite direction! We have to recognise in our words and our actions that capitalists are human beings as much as socialists. They may be wrong; indeed by dedicating ourselves to socialism we are saying that they are. But our task is to make it impossible for capitalism to dominate us. Our task is not to persecute capitalists or make dignified life impossible for those who would be capitalists if they could.

In truth it is necessary for socialists to think about issues—about policies—and about how our institutions can serve the people of our society. To try and divide up the people working for our nation into groups of 'good' and 'bad' according to their skin colour, or their national origin, or their tribal origin, is to sabotage the work we have just embarked upon. We should decide whether a person is efficient in a particular job, whether he is honest, and whether he is carrying out his task loyally. But those of us who call ourselves scientific socialists must be scientific and objective in our thinking and in making such judgements. We must think about Men, and an individual man, not about 'Asians', 'Europeans', 'Americans', and so on.

Certainly socialism in Tanzania will be built by Tanzanians. And certainly we are working for the time when all those in our Government employment will be Tanzanians—though they will not all be black Tanzanians. But it is absurd for anyone to suggest that because we now have non-Tanzanians working for Government—or in the newly nationalised industries—that we do not control our own affairs. Only those who are lacking in self-confidence, or who are trying to hide their own shortcomings, could say this now. For all the evidence is against them. We obtained our independence although we were governed by colonialists. We became a Republic although there were many expatriates working here—at that time even in high positions. We effected the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar although many

Government servants on the mainland came from countries which did not like the Zanzibar Revolution. We have accepted the Arusha Declaration, and in the space of one week have nationalised or taken control of all the large capitalist firms and institutions which could have dominated our economy. In all these activities we have used all the Government servants concerned. And all—Tanzanians and non-Tanzanians alike—are carrying out our decisions loyally, and are working very hard indeed.

The Arusha Declaration talks of Men, and their beliefs. It talks of socialism and capitalism, of socialists and capitalists. It does not talk about racial groups or nationalities. On the contrary, it says that all those who stand for the interests of the workers and peasants, anywhere in the world, are our friends. This means that we must judge the character and ability of each individual, not put each person into a pre-arranged category of race or national origin and judge them accordingly. Certainly no one can be a socialist unless he at least tries to do this. For if the actions taken under the Arusha Declaration are to mean anything to our people, then we must accept this basic oneness of man. What matters now is that we should succeed in the work we have undertaken. The colour or origin of the man who is working to that end does not matter in the very least. And each one of us must fight, in himself, the racialist habits of thought which were part of our inheritance from colonialism.

It is not an easy thing to overcome such habits. But we have always known that it is necessary, and that racialism is evil. We fought our independence campaign on that basis. And the equality of man is the first item in the T.A.N.U. Creed. For in our constitution we say 'T.A.N.U. believes (a) That all human beings are equal; (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect'.

If we are to succeed in building a socialist state in this country it is essential that every citizen, and especially every T.A.N.U. leader, should live up to that doctrine. Let us always remember two things. We have dedicated ourselves to build a socialist society in Tanzania. And, socialism and racialism are incompatible.

(Published in the 'Nationalist' of February 14th, 1967)

A GREAT STEP FORWARD

O. R. Tambo

Message from the Deputy-President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Oliver Tambo, to His Excellency President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, on the occasion of the Arusha Declaration.

IN THE NAME of the African National Congress of South Africa and on behalf of millions of oppressed and struggling people in my country, I take great pleasure in addressing this message of solidarity to you, to T.A.N.U. National Executive, and to the Government and People of Tanzania. We have always fervently held the conviction that the people of Tanzania by following the road of unflinching struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will not only achieve the revolutionary tasks and ideals of the African Revolution but will also render Africa the inestimable duty of affording her sons and daughters an opportunity to learn from Tanzania's experience and example.

The programme of socialist construction enshrined in the Arusha Declaration will go down in the annals of African history as the decisive clarion call to defend national sovereignty against neo-colonialist counter-revolutionary subversion and to move African revolutionary forces towards the full realisation of political, social and economic independence. This is a great revolutionary step forward. It has struck fear in the hearts of the enemies of Africa's freedom.

The Arusha Declaration comes at an opportune historical period and is a telling blow to the imperialist offensive which swept across Africa last year bringing untold humiliation to African nationhood and human dignity. We particularly wish to commend you and the T.A.N.U. National Executive for the clear enunciation of the basic elements of socialism in African conditions in which public ownership of the means of production is based on self-reliance and democratic government. The principle of nationalisation has also been placed in vivid perspective showing the only way in which national resources and the heritage of the people can be restored to them.

In conclusion allow me to convey to you our heartfelt congratulations and good wishes for success in the implementation of the historic Arusha Declaration.

BOOK REVIEWS

One Man's Torment

The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs (Harvill Press, London).

THIS IS THE RECORD of the extraordinary experiences in solitary confinement of a South African democrat jailed for a total of 168 days under the notorious 90-day law which Justice Minister Vorster (now Prime Minister) introduced to break the back of the South African resistance movement. (It has now been replaced by the similar 180-day law).

The law permitted a person to be held for repeated periods of ninety days until he had made a statement to the satisfaction of the police. Of all the Whites held under this law, Albie Sachs was detained the longest, yet he did not make a statement. How did he survive when so many others failed?

He was not subjected to torture, either physical torture or the even more effective 'statue' torture to which the police later resorted to break down their victims.

This is not to minimise Sachs' extraordinary achievement, for many with even less to answer for than he (in the eyes of the police) collapsed almost at the first blow. Solitary confinement is in itself a dreadful form of mental torture and more than one prisoner was driven out of his mind in Vorster's jails by this alone.

Sachs triumphed because he was determined not to succumb, and also because he worked out a strategy of survival. He kept himself physically fit by regular exercise, he was determined to maintain his sense of identity and self-respect. At the same time, he was careful to preserve good relations with the warders, not to be provocative, not to wallow in needless anger or despair.

As an intriguing study of the battle of wits between captor and captives, Sachs' book is full of dramatic tension, with flashes both of humour and pathos as he explores the human relationships behind

the high jail walls. If he has not exposed the sadism, brutality and horror which one identifies with ninety-day imprisonment in apartheid South Africa, he can hardly be held to blame for the fact that he was not punished as others, especially the non-Whites, were.

Z.N.

New Voices from the South

African Writing Today (Penguin Books).

ANY ANTHOLOGY OF African literature must by definition contain a cross-section of the work of writers throughout the continent and it is difficult to understand why Ezekiel Mphahlele who has edited 'African Writing Today' has ignored literature north of the Sahara. For a true experience of African writing it is essential to be able to draw on writers from North Africa, Ethiopia, Sudan, etc., and this book suffers from its lack. To be unable to compare influences of Ethiopian writing or for that matter of Algerian writing inhibits criticism. It would be unfortunate if we were to find ourselves at the beginning of an upsurge of literary activity dominated by standards laid down south of the Sahara. However, any work which includes as many writers from as many parts of Africa as this does must make a valuable contribution to the understanding of the development of literature generally.

'African Writing Today' consists mainly of short stories and poetry of writers ranging geographically from the Ivory Coast to South Africa and any reader interested in the social development of literature will find much material for consideration. The self-possessed, highly sophisticated writing (both poetry and prose) of Wole Soyinka compares startlingly with the sad, hopelessness of poetry by Kalungano of Moçambique and Agostinho Neto of Angola both of whom are desperately searching for any identity. In fact, the question of identity is greatly evident in this collection as the works of writers from Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, etc., have a more relaxed, calmer approach than those of writers from countries still in chains. The domestic issues by such prose writers as Christina Ama Ata Aidoo of Ghana, Grace Ogot of Kenya and Joseph Zobell of Senegal are in striking contrast to the violent, aggressive, abandoned writing of such authors as Can Themba, Alex La Guma and Lewis Nkosi all from South Africa.

But gradually we see coming through the conflicts which must prevail. The influences of European travel and culture have imposed themselves, with Sylvain Bemba from Brazzaville's story 'The Dark Room' set in Paris and Joseph Zobell's set also in France. There is no new story from Chinua Achebe and the extract from his novel 'Arrow of God' appears out of context and disjointed.

The poetry chosen for this anthology is of a very high standard and it would appear that it is to Africa that we must look for the most creative writing in this field at present. Inspired perhaps by liberation, exile, captivity or self-assertion the poets represented here and other African poets lead the way in content and lyricism.

But the question of an essential African literary tradition remains unanswered by this book, for the influence on these writers of the events of the past twenty years has created a great diversity of style, interest and expression. The fact that all the poetry and prose is written in a European language obviously detracts from the purity of the subject and we will have to wait some time before the modern equivalent of the basic African literary tradition presents itself.

R.M.

Some suggestions—and a reply

I FREQUENTLY READ your excellent publication, and always with interest. May I suggest a few improvements and make a few criticisms of a recent issue, in the hope that they will be received in the same constructive way as they are intended?

Although the journal is intended as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought, it lacks the debate in its pages which is so necessary if the forum is not simply to be a place of one-way transactions. History

shows that correct theoretical assessment is vitally necessary at each stage of the struggle if the correct tactics and strategy are to be found. Where is the fierce polemic and the subtle disputation of the South African movement? Much of it, of course, must take place behind closed doors. But surely there are areas where the editors can and should encourage the exchange of different views?

Perhaps the A.C. is trying to do too much. In providing an invaluable commentary on events on the rest of Africa, with an authoritative and informed perspective, it devotes too little of its attention to the domestic scene. Either the journal must grow larger, or it must split in two, one quarterly dealing with Africa and another, possible more frequent and less lengthy publication, dealing exclusively with South or Southern Africa. . . . Aside from the editorial notes and incidental matter in the book reviews, the balance of the material in recent issues seems to have allowed room for only one major article per issue on South Africa. Given the paucity of left-wing writing on the Republic, is this enough?

A.R., Capetown.

* * *

We do not think it is correct that in a journal setting out to deal with all-African problems we devote too little space to our own country. We think an analysis of articles published over the past six years, and especially over the last two years, will show that both the editorial notes and special articles deal far more with Southern Africa than any other area. Indeed we regret that thus far we have been unable to deal adequately with a number of African countries on which, at present, our information is lacking. *The African Communist* has, from the start, endeavoured to be a journal about, and for, Africa, not just the South.

You suggest that what is really needed is not to change the character of the A.C. but to publish another journal of a different character (more frequent, less lengthy) in addition. We don't disagree with the suggestion (except that it isn't really a matter of 'splitting our journal into two', but of starting another one). But we do feel that this isn't a matter for our editorial board, which does the job it has been appointed to do, but for the political leadership as a whole.

Now, about the alleged lack of 'fierce polemic and subtle disputation of the South African movement'. We do not think that our movement is characterised by such sharp differences as would be reflected in the sort of debate you are asking for. Rather, as a result of many years of collective work and discussion, and also of the very acute stage our struggle has entered which has destroyed

many false conceptions and illusions, has our movement attained a great measure of unity. This is reflected in an absence of fundamental criticism of the programme and policy of the Party and its journal—at any rate in communications reaching our journal. We are fully prepared to publish points of difference. We are not at all minded to reject critical contributions, provided these raise in serious manner points of view differing from our own. We are not prepared to encourage polemics for the sake of polemics.

EDITOR.

From Kiev

ALL SOUTH AFRICAN students in the Soviet Union receive your journal. For the first time here in Kiev we saw the last two copies of the journal being sold in street book shops. I learn Moscow and Leningrad long had the journal for sale. The journal is selling like hot cakes, not only among African students but also amongst Soviet citizens here.

The wish with all of us, I think, was to write articles. The obstacle is fear-complex. The standard of analysis in the journal scared us away from even trying. Since you are encouraging us to comment or contribute we shall do so.

Young South Africans this end send you all very warm comradely greetings.

Mayibuye!, Kiev.

The Cairo Seminar

PLEASE FIND ENCLOSED my cheque for another year and a small financial contribution. Like many others for whom Africa is more than a place for exotic holidays, I particularly appreciated your report on the Cairo Seminar.

G.A.M., Birmingham.

SOCIALIST IDEAS IN AFRICA

Idris Cox

15s

". . . brings out of the confused welter of ideas on socialism in Africa some of the new and fresh concepts born of African experience. Even from the erroneous he extracts the positive content of ideas that can be of great importance for socialism in Africa . . .

". . . Idris Cox correctly pays tribute to the powerful influence of Kwame Nkrumah . . . Naturally, he is critical of much contained in the writings on Nkrumahism and has just reservations about them. But his attitude is a positive one."

The African Communist, No 27.

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